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Monthly Summary.

DOMESTIC.—On Wednesday, the 5th ultimo, Mr. Consul M'Leod addressed a meeting of the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce—W. T. Paton, Esq., in the chair—on the subject of our cotton supply, and pointed out the natural advantages of Africa as a cotton-field. His address was warmly applauded, and a vote of thanks to him was passed.

A correspondence between the Committee of the *United Methodist Free Church*, and Dr. Krapff, the well-known German Missionary, who has recently returned from Eastern Africa, has resulted in his coming over from Germany to confer with them on the subject of a mission to that part of the African continent. Finding that the Doctor's theological views substantially accorded with their own, the Committee had no hesitation in availing themselves of his offers of service. Mr. Eckett and Mr. Cheetham have been deputed to visit a Missionary seminary in Switzerland, brought by Dr. Krapff under the notice of the Committee as likely to supply them with young men qualified for the intended mission. The proposed plan is to send out four Missionaries, two from Switzerland and two who are now preaching among the *United Methodist Free Churches*, with Dr. Krapff, who has engaged to give two years to their introduction. The two Englishmen will be unmarried preachers, either local or connectional. The party will sail in April next.

Peace has been concluded with China, and

it is said that one of the articles of the new treaty, insisted upon and obtained by the French, is the removal of all restrictions upon immigration. We hesitate to accept the report in its simple form, for the national customs are contrary to the spirit of such a treaty, and are not to be so abruptly abolished.

AFRICA.—Our advices from the coast state that the King of DAHOMEY was continuing the massacre of natives in honour of his late father's death, and that he had compelled all the English resident in his dominions to be witnesses to the awful atrocity. It is reported that upwards of two thousand persons had been put to death when the mail left.

In our last summary we referred to a French vessel named the *Arabe*, as having decoyed a number of Kroomen, and detained them on board as slaves. The *Liberia Herald* now contradicts that statement, and states the *Arabe* was mistaken for another vessel called the *Lamothe Vignet*, which had hired a dozen Kroomen for one year. The *Sunbeam*, too, is exempted from a similar charge, but the Liberian authorities attribute the mistake to the circumstance of the captains of these vessels having neglected to take out passports for their hired Kroomen, though intending to convey them beyond the limits of the Republic, and notwithstanding that all vessels procuring Kroomen within the jurisdiction of the Republic, to take them beyond its limits, are required by law to obtain passports for them.

Commodore Inman, of the American squadron on the coast, is said to have captured and taken into Monrovia, within the

last three months, four slaves laden with Africans, an event said to be unparalleled in the history of the American squadron on that coast.

In Maryland county a new Book Society has been recently organized, to which the name has been given of the *Brougham Book Club*, in honour of the venerable lord whose name is identified with all the measures for the welfare of the African race which have been enacted during the last half century.

HAYTI.—A report presented by the Government of Hayti to the Chamber of Representatives, in September last, embraces a series of facts in a high degree creditable to the Republic, and which merit special mention. Its army has been reduced from thirty thousand to sixteen thousand men. The navy has been remodelled and enlarged, while its cost has been materially diminished. It now embraces two good steamers. A rigid economy is rapidly bringing the finances of the country into a healthy condition, and the State has thereby been enabled to increase the salaries of its public officers and the wages of the workmen employed upon the public works; while the value of the national currency as compared with that of bullion is constantly rising. Many public works have been completed. The Government has commenced a census of the Republic. The means of education have been increased, and primary schools, at which the science of agriculture is taught, have been liberally established in the rural districts. At the close of last September, thirteen thousand pupils of both sexes were under instruction at the expense of the State, in every degree and branch of knowledge, in more than one hundred and fifty schools.

A plot had been discovered for bringing about another revolution, but its discovery had led to the apprehension of the parties implicated, who had been tried, convicted, and executed. Seven women were among the number of the condemned.

The first vessel sent by the Haytien Bureau of Emigration was to sail from Boston on the 22nd of December, the anniversary of the departure of President Geffrard from Port-au-Prince to begin the revolution, which terminated in the establishment of the present Republic of Hayti. A large number of passengers had been engaged. The country is thus receiving a valuable accession to its population in immigrants, especially from Louisiana, whom the harsh legislation of that State has driven to seek a home elsewhere. The free coloured population of Louisiana, as a whole, is superior to the same class in any Slave, perhaps in any Free State. Louisiana, having been originally a French colony, the white fathers of coloured children did not consider themselves wholly exempt from the obligations of paternity.

On the contrary, the fashion prevailed of giving to such children, at least in the case of the wealthy planters, not merely freedom, but often a degree of education and a moderate inheritance. Thus among the free-coloured people of Louisiana are a certain number who possess wealth and education, of whom a considerable part are planters. But the old Creole sentiments and usages having been gradually overridden, Louisiana has followed the example of other Southern States, of legislating with the express object of driving out the free coloured population or reducing them to Slavery. The coloured people have therefore been led to turn their attention to Hayti, which, under the wise administration of Geffrard, offers full protection to life and property. The emigration has been going on for two or three years, and the immigrants, who turn their attention principally to the cultivation of cotton, have succeeded so well, as to have led to the establishment of steam communication between New Orleans and Port-au-Prince for the purpose of facilitating it. The Haytien Government is anxious to encourage this emigration, not merely as a means of furnishing cultivators for the unoccupied lands, of which free grants are offered to the emigrants, but for the sake of the civilization they will bring into the island, and the instruction which they may be able to afford the native inhabitants in the cultivation and preparation of cotton, and the revival of the production of sugar.

These Louisiana emigrants, who are mostly of partial French origin, and who speak the French language, which is the language of the island, have a special inducement in that circumstance to emigrate to Hayti, which does not apply to the coloured population of the other States.

UNITED STATES.—In another column will be found copious extracts from the message of President Buchanan, delivered on the 5th of December; Congress having opened on the 4th. The anti-slavery subject has unusual prominence in it, in connection with the question of the secession of the Southern States. Extreme agitation prevails in these States, especially in South Carolina, where a violent section has openly declared for secession. The senators have resigned, and every thing seemed to portend that the secessionists were bent upon forcing matters to an issue. It was supposed that, if South Carolina succeeded, Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and Florida would speedily follow its example; but great diversity of opinion prevailed, and there were hints of compromises with the Northern States, for the purpose of averting a catastrophe. In the meanwhile a reign of terror prevailed in the South. Northern men, and even natives of the Slave States, were being lynched and driven out, even upon a

bare whisper of their entertaining abolitionist sentiments, and rumours were rife of plans for a general rising of the negroes. These reports are more or less exaggerated; but no doubt the state of the public mind has not been so fevered and anxious for many a year. The papers are full of quotations from the journals of the South, advising resistance to the "tyranny of the North;" but we regard these effusions as so much vapouring, quite natural under the circumstances, though the extracts are not of sufficient importance to find a place in our columns.

It is said, that since the 1st of January 1860 at least one thousand persons of colour have left Charleston for the North. The majority were artisans and mechanics, and it is calculated that they paid annually above 50,000 dollars to the revenue.

A Convention, convened to consider the best method of abolishing Slavery, assembled in the Tremont Temple, Boston, on the 3d ult., but was forcibly dispersed by order of the Mayor, backed by a mob. In the evening the meeting re-assembled in the Joy Street Church, when resolutions were passed condemnatory of the Mayor's proceedings, and speeches were delivered by F. Douglass, Wendell Phillips, Parker Pillsbury, and other members of the *American Anti-Slavery Society*.

A curious fugitive slave case had come to light in New York. John Thomas, a coloured man, recently owned by Mr. Winter, of Louisville, Ky., was sent by his master to an agent in Evansville, Ind., by whom he was shipped as a steward on a boat plying up and down the Ohio, his wages inuring to the benefit of Winter. John Thomas, tiring of his task, betook himself to Canada, and thence came to New York, where he engaged with Mr. Vail, in Broadway, as porter, serving him for some months. One Monday night, about four weeks ago, by some unexplained means, John Thomas was taken to the Grand Jury room in Chambers street, by some unknown personage. He managed to let Mr. Vail know his whereabouts, and on the Tuesday that gentleman saw him there in the custody of some one, who exhibited a power of attorney from Winter to recover and return the fugacious John Thomas. Mr. Vail got a writ of habeas corpus on the same day, which Marshal Rynders on the Wednesday responded to by producing in court the body of a John Thomas, coloured man. This J. T., however, was another person, who had been in jail as a witness in a murder case since March last. The judge decided that the writ was satisfied. Meanwhile, Mr. Winter's John Thomas was far on his way to Louisville. But the fact remains that a man has been kidnapped in the streets of New York, confined in a United States court-room, and carried out of the State without the know-

ledge or connivance of United States Marshals, deputies, commissioners, district-attorneys, or judges.

The Legislature of Vermont has by a strong vote refused to repeal the Personal Liberty Act now in force in that State.

The *Baltimore American* says, that in all the counties in Maryland in which the Act for the enslavement of free negroes was submitted to the people, the voters have emphatically and signally denounced that unjust and unchristian law. The question has been met and decided without any reference to party politics, and the law is defeated by majorities amounting almost to unanimity.

William S. Bailey, of Newport, Kentucky, having revived the issue of the *Free South*, which was destroyed by a mob some time ago, had been arrested for publishing incendiary documents. He was at first bailed, but afterwards surrendered by his bondsmen, and was remitted to jail. Subsequently, however, he was set at liberty by habeas corpus, after having been in prison only a few hours. He is yet to be tried upon a charge of incendiarism. This noble man deserves the sympathy and admiration of the friends of freedom everywhere. No braver, no more self-sacrificing friend of the oppressed has yet made his appearance.

WEST INDIES.—Our West-India files are devoid of interest. A correspondent, however, of the *Freeman*, the organ of the Baptist denomination, writes as follows of the revival there :

"Few, if any, expect such a manifestation of God's power as is now being put forth. The awakening seems to have appeared first in the lowlands of St. Elizabeth's and amongst the Moravians, and then to have spread to Westmoreland, Hanover, Manchester, and was gradually extending itself to St. James's and Trellawny. The 'prostrations' are very numerous, and embrace young and old, men and women. The confessions made by these 'stricken' ones reveal a very painful amount of immorality. The restitution of stolen property is not at all uncommon, and not a few of the most abandoned females have burned clothing and destroyed jewellery which had been obtained as the wages of sin. Grog-shops are closed, fiddles and other instruments of music have all been destroyed, in some districts work has been entirely suspended, and the people have remained day and night in the house of God, earnestly imploring mercy for themselves or others. Persons who have long lived together in fornication, hasten to be united in marriage, while those who have violated the marriage vow anxiously seek the partners whom they had abandoned. The excitement is such as no one in the island has ever known before, and the Missionaries are worn out by incessant labour."

The following has also appeared in a contemporary, in relation to labour in Trinidad :

"Our sugar crop is over, and considerably under what was expected; but the value may be

taken at something near half a million. Now, what I would request your attention to is this already-ascertained fact — that, taking all the sugar estates together in this island, the balance of profit is against them. They have not cleared one farthing by the crop of 1860. The half-million above mentioned has gone into the pockets of labourers, merchants, shippers, &c. I was not, when last addressing you, sure of this fact, or 'Practical Inquirer' might have better enforced his subject, and shewn that even two-thirds of the expense of introducing the labour by which so many benefit is far too much wherewith to saddle the planter. His share of expense for the last two years has been about 40,000*l.* per annum. We recently had an immigrant ship from Madras, ninety-nine days out, without a single death; but an immediately previous vessel from Calcutta lost sixty souls. She had sailed with cholera on board, and the deaths from that disease and its sequelae under the circumstances unavoidable. The previous ship lost only nine, seven of whom were not in a fit state to be embarked. Although the lower classes of Calcutta coolies are subject to a high rate of mortality on shore, I think it can be shewn beyond all doubt, that excessive mortality at sea is due to avoidable causes, the principal of which is, in my opinion (cholera apart), caused by the contamination of the sleeping-room by exhalations from the rice cargo. If these be prevented, the coolie can, with ordinary care, be carried safely. I understand that the mortality in the late arrivals at Demerara has been very great, while some of the ships in the early part of the year lost very few indeed. I once mentioned the suitability of this climate to consumptive patients; it is particularly exemplified in the case of an individual lately (five months) arrived, who at first was in a state of great suffering, and scarcely able to sit erect without panting: she is now able to enjoy a walk. What was the real condition of her lungs I know not, but speak merely of external appearances. We have no inconsiderable number of useful individuals here, who have for years resumed occupations they had been obliged to abandon in Europe. The equability of the climate, though sometimes unpleasantly warm to new comers, is peculiarly adapted to children, and still more to men over fifty-five."

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

MR. BUCHANAN has delivered his valedictory message. On the 4th ultimo, the second session of the thirty-sixth Congress was opened, and on the 5th, the President delivered his annual address. We are obliged to give it almost *in extenso*, because it is nearly exclusively devoted to a consideration of the actual position of the Union, and of the menacing attitude of some of the States, in consequence of the election of Mr. Lincoln. We reserve our comments for another column.

"Throughout the year since our last meeting the country has been eminently prosperous in all its material interests. The general health has

been excellent, our harvests have been abundant, and plenty smiles throughout the land. Our commerce and manufactures have been prosecuted with energy and industry, and have yielded fair and ample returns. In short, no nation in the tide of time has ever presented a spectacle of greater material prosperity than we have done until within a very recent period.

"Why is it, then, that discontent now so extensively prevails, and the Union of the States, which is the source of all these blessings, is threatened with destruction? The long-continued and intemperate interference of the Northern people with the question of Slavery in the Southern States has at length produced its natural effects. The different sections of the Union are now arrayed against each other, and the time has arrived, so much dreaded by the father of his country, when hostile geographical parties have been formed. I have long foreseen, and often forewarned my countrymen of the now impending danger. This does not proceed solely from the claim on the part of Congress or the Territorial legislation to exclude Slavery from the Territories, nor from the efforts of different States to defeat the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law. All or any of these evils might have been endured by the South without danger to the Union (as others have been), in the hope that time and reflection might apply the remedy. The immediate peril arises not so much from these causes as from the fact that the incessant and violent agitation of the Slavery question throughout the North for the last quarter of a century has at length produced its malign influence on the slaves, and inspired them with vague notions of freedom. Hence a sense of security no longer exists around the family altar. This feeling of peace at home has given place to apprehensions of servile insurrection. Many a matron throughout the South retires at night in dread of what may befall herself and her children before the morning. Should this apprehension of domestic anger, whether real or imaginary, extend and intensify itself until it shall pervade the masses of the Southern people, then disunion will become inevitable. Self-preservation is the first law of nature, and has been implanted in the heart of man by his Creator for the wisest purpose; and no political union, however fraught with blessings and benefits in all other respects, can long continue, if the necessary consequence be to render the homes and the firesides of nearly half the parties to it habitually and hopelessly insecure. Sooner or later the bonds of such a union must be severed. It is my conviction that this fatal period has not yet arrived; and my prayer to God is that He would preserve the constitution and the Union throughout all generations.

"But let us take warning in time, and remove the cause of danger. It cannot be denied that, for five and twenty years, the agitation at the North against Slavery in the South has been incessant. In 1835 pictorial handbills and inflammatory appeals were circulated extensively throughout the South, of a character to excite the passions of the slaves, and, in the language of General Jackson, 'to stimulate them to insurrection, and produce all the horrors of a ser-

vile war.' This agitation has ever since been continued by the public press, by the proceedings of State and County Conventions, and by abolition sermons and lectures. The time of Congress has been occupied in violent speeches on this never-ending subject; and appeals in pamphlet and other forms, endorsed by distinguished names, have been sent forth from this central point, and spread broadcast over the Union.

"How easy would it be for the American people to settle the Slavery question for ever, and to restore peace and harmony to this distracted country.

"They, and they alone, can do it. All that is necessary to accomplish the object, and all for which the Slave States have ever contended, is to be let alone, and permitted to manage their domestic institutions in their own way. As sovereign States, they, and they alone, are responsible before God and the world for Slavery existing among them. For this, the people of the North are not more responsible, and have no more right to interfere, than with similar institutions in Russia or in Brazil. Upon their good sense and patriotic forbearance I confess I still greatly rely. Without their aid it is beyond the power of any President, no matter what may be his own political proclivities, to restore peace and harmony among the States. Wisely limited and restrained as is power, under our constitution and laws, he alone can accomplish but little, for good or for evil, on such a momentous question.

"And this brings me to observe that the election of any one of our fellow-citizens to the office of President does not of itself afford just cause for dissolving the Union. This is more especially true if his election has been effected by a mere plurality and not a majority of the people, and has resulted from transient and temporary causes, which may probably never again occur. In order to justify a resort to revolutionary resistance, the federal government must be guilty of a deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise of powers not granted by the constitution. The late Presidential election, however, has been held in strict conformity with its express provisions. How, then, can the result justify a revolution to destroy this very constitution? Reason, justice, a regard for the constitution, all require that we shall wait for some overt and dangerous act on the part of the President before resorting to such a remedy.

"It is said, however, that the antecedents of the President elect have been sufficient to justify the fears of the South that he will attempt to invade their constitutional rights. But are such apprehensions of contingent danger in the future sufficient to justify the immediate destruction of the noblest system of government ever devised by mortals? From the very nature of his office, and its high responsibility, he must necessarily be conservative. The stern duty of administering the vast and complicated concerns of this government affords in itself a guarantee that he will not attempt any violation of a clear constitutional right. After all, he is no more than the chief executive officer of the government. His province is not to make, but to execute the laws; and it is a remarkable fact in our history, that, notwithstanding the repeated efforts of the

anti-slavery party, no single act has ever passed Congress, unless we may possibly except the Missouri Compromise, impairing in the slightest degree the rights of the South to their property in slaves. And it may also be observed, judging from present indications, that no probability exists of the passage of such an Act, by a majority of both Houses, either in the present or the next Congress. Surely, under these circumstances, we ought to be restrained from present action by the precept of Him who spake as never man spoke, that 'sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.' The day of evil may never come, unless we shall rashly bring it upon ourselves.

"It is alleged as one cause for immediate secession that the Southern States are denied equal rights with the other States in the common Territories. But by what authority are these denied? Not by Congress, which has never passed—and, I believe, never will pass—any Act to exclude Slavery from these Territories; and certainly not by the Supreme Court, which has solemnly decided that slaves are property; and, like all other property, their owners have a right to take them into the common Territories, and hold them there under the protection of the constitution.

"So far, then, as Congress is concerned, the objection is not to any thing they have already done, but to what they may do hereafter. It will surely be admitted that this apprehension of future danger is no good reason for an immediate dissolution of the Union. It is true that the Territorial Legislature of Kansas, on the 23d of February 1860, passed in great haste an Act, over the veto of the Governor, declaring that Slavery 'is, and shall be, for ever prohibited in this Territory.' Such an Act, however, plainly violating the rights of property secured by the constitution, will surely be declared void by the judiciary whenever it shall be presented in a legal form.

"Only three years after my inauguration, the Supreme Court of the United States solemnly adjudged that this power did not exist in a territorial legislature. Yet such has been the factious temper of the times, that the correctness of this decision has been extensively impugned before the people; and the question has given rise to angry political conflicts throughout the country. Those who have appealed from this judgment of our highest constitutional tribunal to popular assemblies, would, if they could, invest a territorial legislature with power to annul the sacred rights of property. This power Congress is expressly forbidden by the federal constitution to exercise. Every State Legislature in the Union is forbidden by its own constitution to exercise it. It cannot be exercised in any State, except by the people in their highest sovereign capacity when framing or amending their State constitution. In like manner, it can only be exercised by people of a territory represented in a convention of delegates for the purpose of framing a constitution preparatory to admission as a State into the Union. Then, and not until then, are they invested with power to decide the question whether Slavery shall or shall not exist within their limits. This is an act of sovereign authority, and not of subordinate

territorial legislation. Were it otherwise, then indeed would the equality of the States in the territories be destroyed, and the rights of property in slaves would depend, not upon the guarantees of the constitution, but upon the shifting majorities of an irrepressible Territorial Legislature. Such a doctrine, from its intrinsic unsoundness, cannot long influence any considerable portion of our people: much less can it afford a good reason for a dissolution of the Union.

"The most palpable violations of constitutional duty which have yet been committed consist in the acts of different State Legislatures to defeat the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law. It ought to be remembered, however, that for these acts neither Congress nor any President can justly be held responsible. Having been passed in violation of the federal constitution, they are, therefore, null and void. All the courts, both State and national, before whom the question has arisen, have from the beginning declared the Fugitive Slave Law to be unconstitutional. The single exception is that of a State Court in Wisconsin; and this has not only been reversed by the proper appellate tribunal, but has met with such universal reprobation that there can be no danger from it as a precedent. The validity of this law has been established over and over again by the Supreme Court of the United States with perfect impunity. It is formed upon an express provision of the constitution, requiring that fugitive slaves who escape from service in one State to another shall be 'delivered up' to their masters. Without this provision it is a well-known historical fact that the constitution itself could never have been adopted by the Convention. In one form or other under the Acts of 1793 and 1850, both being substantially the same, the Fugitive Slave Law has been the law of the land from the days of Washington until the present moment. Here, then, a clear case is presented, in which it will be the duty of the next President, as it has been my own, to act with vigour in executing this supreme law against the conflicting enactments of State Legislatures. Should he fail in the performance of this high duty, he will then have manifested a disregard of the constitution and laws, to the great injury of the people of nearly one half of the States of the Union. But are we to presume in advance that he will thus violate his duty? This would be at war with every principle of justice and of Christian charity. Let us wait for the overt act. The Fugitive Slave Law has been carried into execution in every contested case since the commencement of the present Administration; though often, it is to be regretted, with great loss and inconvenience to the master, and considerable expense to the Government. Let us trust that the State Legislatures will repeal their unconstitutional and obnoxious enactments. Unless this shall be done without unnecessary delay, it is impossible for any human power to save the Union."

"The Southern States, standing on the basis of the constitution, have a right to demand this act of justice from the States of the North. Should it be refused, then the constitution, to which all the States are parties, will have been wilfully violated by one portion of them in a

provision essential to the domestic security and happiness of the remainder. In that event, the injured States, after having first used all peaceful and constitutional means to obtain redress, would be justified in revolutionary resistance to the Government of the Union.

"I have purposely confined my remarks to revolutionary resistance, because it has been claimed within the last few years that any State, whenever this shall be its sovereign will and pleasure, may secede from the Union, in accordance with the constitution, and without any violation of the constitutional rights of the other members of the confederacy. That as each became parties to the Union by the vote of its own people assembled in convention, so any one of them may retire from the Union in a similar manner by the vote of such a convention.

"In order to justify secession as a constitutional remedy, it must be on the principle that the federal government is a mere voluntary association of States, to be dissolved at pleasure by any one of the contracting parties. If this be so, the confederacy is a rope of sand, to be penetrated and dissolved by the first adverse wave of public opinion in any of the States. In this manner our thirty-three States may resolve themselves into as many petty, jarring, and hostile republics, each one retiring from the Union, without responsibility, whenever any sudden excitement might impel them to such a course. By this process a Union might be entirely broken into fragments in a few weeks, which cost our forefathers many years of toil, privation, and blood to establish.

"Such a principle is wholly inconsistent with the history as well as the character of the federal constitution. After it was framed, with the greatest deliberation and care, it was submitted to conventions of the people of the several States for ratification. Its provisions were discussed at length in these bodies, composed of the first men of the country. Its opponents contended that it conferred powers upon the federal government dangerous to the rights of the States, whilst its advocates maintained that, under a fair construction of the instrument, there was no foundation for such apprehensions. In that mighty struggle between the first intellects of this or any other country it never occurred to any individual, either among its opponents or advocates, to assert, or even to intimate that their efforts were all vain labour, because the moment that any State felt herself aggrieved she might secede from the Union. What a crushing argument would this have proved against those who dreaded that the rights of the States would be endangered by the constitution. The truth is, that it was not until many years after the origin of the federal government that such a proposition was first advanced. It was then met and refuted by the conclusive arguments of General Jackson, who, in his message of 16th January 1833, transmitting the nullifying ordinance of South Carolina to Congress, employs the following language: 'The right of a people of a single State to absolve themselves at will, and without the consent of the other States, from their most solemn obligations, and hazard the liberty and happiness of the millions composing this Union, cannot be acknowledged. Such

authority is believed to be utterly repugnant, both to the principle upon which the general government is constituted, and to the objects which it was expressly formed to attain.'

"It is not pretended that any clause in the constitution gives countenance to such a theory. It is altogether founded upon inference, not from any language contained in the instrument itself, but from the sovereign character of the several States by which it was ratified. But it is beyond the power of a State, like an individual, to yield a portion of its sovereign rights to secure the remainder. In the language of Mr. Madison, who has been called the father of the constitution: 'It was formed by the States acting in their highest capacity; and formed, consequently, by the same authority which formed the State constitutions.'

"Nor is the government of the United States, created by the constitution, less a government in the strict sense of the term, within the sphere of its powers, than the governments created by the constitutions of the States are within their several spheres. It is, like them, organized into legislative, executive, and judiciary departments. It operates, like them, directly on persons and things; and, like them, it has at command a physical force for executing the powers committed to it.

"It was intended to be perpetual, and not to be annulled at the pleasure of any one of the contracting parties. The old Articles of Confederation were entitled, 'Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the States'; and by the 13th Article it is expressly declared that 'the Articles of this Confederation shall be inviolably observed by every State, and the Union shall be perpetual.' The preamble to the constitution of the United States, having express reference to the Article of Confederation, recites that it was established 'in order to form a more perfect Union.' And yet it is contended that this 'more perfect Union' does not include the essential attribute of perpetuity.

"But that the Union was designed to be perpetual appears conclusively from the nature and extent of the powers conferred by the constitution on the federal government. These powers embrace the very highest attributes of national sovereignty. They place both the sword and the purse under its control. Congress has power to make war, and to make peace; to raise and support armies and navies, and to conclude treaties with foreign governments. It is invested with the power to coin money, and to regulate the value thereof; and to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States. It is but necessary to enumerate the other high powers which have been conferred upon the federal government. In order to carry the enumerated powers into effect, Congress possesses the exclusive right to lay and collect duties on imports, and in common with the States to lay and collect all other taxes.

"But the constitution has not only conferred these high powers upon Congress, but it has adopted effectual means to restrain the States from interfering with their exercise. For that purpose it has, in strong prohibitory language, expressly declared that 'no State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant

letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts.' Moreover, 'without the consent of Congress, no State shall lay any imposts or duties on any imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws;' and, if they exceed this amount, the excess shall belong to the United States.

"And 'no State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage; keep troops or ships of war, in time of peace; enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power; or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.'

"In order still further to secure the uninterrupted exercise of these high powers against State interposition, it is provided 'that this constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any thing in the constitution or laws of one State to the contrary notwithstanding.'

"The solemn sanction of religion has been superadded to the obligations of official duty; and all Senators and Representatives of the United States, all members of State Legislatures, and all executive or judicial officers, 'both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this constitution.'

"In order to carry into effect these powers, the constitution has established a perfect government in all its forms, legislative, executive, and judicial; and this government, to the extent of its powers, acts directly upon the individual citizens of every State, and exercises its own decrees by the agency of its own affairs. In this respect it differs entirely from the government under the old confederation, which was confined to making requisitions on the States in their sovereign character. This left it in the discretion of each, whether to obey or refuse; and they often declined to comply with such requisitions. It thus became necessary, for the purpose of removing this barrier, and 'in order to form a more perfect Union,' to establish a government which could act directly upon the people and execute its own laws without the intermediate agency of the States. This has been accomplished by the constitution of the United States.

"In short, the government created by the constitution, and deriving its authority from the sovereign people of each of the sovereign States, has precisely the same right to exercise its power over the people of all these States, in the enumerated cases, that each of them possesses over subjects not delegated to the United States, but 'reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.'

"To the extent of the delegated powers the constitution of the United States is as much a part of the constitution of each State, and is as binding upon its people, as though it had been textually inserted therein.

"This government, therefore, is a great and powerful government, invested with all the attributes of sovereignty over the special subjects to which the authority extends. Its framers never intended to implant in its bosom the seeds of its own destruction, nor were they, at its creation, guilty of the absurdity of providing for its own dissolution. It was not intended by its framers to be the baseless fabric of a vision, which, at the touch of the enchanter, would vanish into thin air; but a substantial and mighty fabric, capable of resisting the slow decay of time, and of defying the storms of ages. Indeed, well may the jealous patriots of that day have indulged fears that a government of such high powers might violate the reserved rights of the States; and wisely did they adopt the rule of a strict construction of these powers to prevent the danger. But they did not fear, nor had they any reason to imagine, that the constitution would ever be so interpreted as to enable any State, by her own act, and without the consent of her sister States, to discharge her people from all or any of the federal obligations.

"It may be asked, then, are the people of the States without redress against the tyranny and oppression against the federal government? By no means. The right of resistance on the part of the governed against the oppression of their governments cannot be denied. It exists independently of all constitutions, and has been exercised at all periods of the world's history. Under it, old governments have been destroyed, and new ones have taken their place. It is embodied in strong and express language in our own Declaration of Independence. But the distinction must ever be observed, that this is revolution against an established government, and not a voluntary secession from it by virtue of an inherent constitutional right. In short, let us look the danger fairly in the face: secession is neither more nor less than revolution. It may or it may not be a justifiable revolution, but still it is revolution.

"What, in the mean time, is the responsibility and true position of the Executive? He is bound by solemn oath before God and the country 'to take care that the laws be faithfully executed'; and from this obligation he cannot be absolved by any human power. But what if the performance of this duty, in whole or in part, has been rendered impracticable by events over which he could have exercised no control? Such, at the present moment, is the case throughout the State of South Carolina so far as the laws of the United States to secure the administration of justice by means of federal judiciary are concerned. All the federal officers within its limits, through whose agency alone these laws can be carried into execution, have already resigned. We no longer have a District Judge, a District Attorney, or a Marshal, in South Carolina. In fact, the whole machinery of the federal government, necessary for the distribution of remedial justice among the people, has been demolished; and it would be difficult, if not impossible, to replace it.

"The only acts of Congress on the statute-book bearing upon this subject, are those of the 28th February 1795, and 3rd March 1807. These authorize the President, after he shall have as-

certained that the Marshal, with his *posse comitatus*, is unable to execute civil or criminal process in any particular case, to call forth the militia and employ the army and navy to aid him in performing the service, having first, by proclamation, commanded the insurgents 'to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes, within a limited time.' This duty cannot by possibility be performed in a State where no judicial authority exists to issue process, and where there is no Marshal to execute it, and where, even if there were such an officer, the entire population would constitute one solid combination to resist him.

"The bare enumeration of these provisions proves how inadequate they are without further legislation to overcome a united opposition in a single State, not to speak of other States who may place themselves in a similar attitude. Congress alone has power to decide whether the present laws can or cannot be amended so as to carry out more effectually the objects of the constitution.

"The same insuperable obstacles do not lie in the way of executing the laws for the collection of the Customs. The revenue still continues to be collected, as heretofore, at the Custom House in Charleston, and should the collector unfortunately resign, a successor may be appointed to perform this duty.

"Then, in regard to the property of the United States in South Carolina. This has been purchased for a fair equivalent, 'by the consent of the Legislature of the State,' 'for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals,' &c., and over these the authority 'to exercise exclusive legislation' has been expressly granted by the constitution to Congress. It is not believed that any attempt will be made to expel the United States from this property by force; but if in this I should prove to be mistaken, the officer in command of the forts has received orders to act strictly on the defensive. In such a contingency, the responsibility for consequences would rightfully rest upon the heads of the assailants.

"Apart from the execution of the laws, so far as this may be practicable, the executive has no authority to decide what shall be the relations between the federal government and South Carolina. He has been invested with no such discretion. He possesses no power to change the relations between them, much less to acknowledge the independence of that State. This would be to invest a mere Executive officer with the power of recognising the dissolution of the confederacy among our thirty-three sovereign States. It bears no resemblance to the recognition of a foreign *de facto* government, involving no such responsibility. Any attempt to do that would on his part be a naked act of usurpation. It is, therefore, my duty to submit to Congress the whole question in all its bearings. The course of events is so rapidly hastening forward, that the emergency may soon arrive, when you may be called upon to decide the momentous question whether you possess the power, by force of arms, to compel a State to remain in the Union. I should feel myself recreant to my duty were I not to express an opinion on this important subject.

"The question fairly stated is—Has the consti-

tution delegated to Congress the power to coerce a State into submission which is attempting to withdraw or has actually withdrawn from the Confederacy? If answered in the affirmative, it must be on the principle that the power has been conferred upon Congress to declare and to make war against a State. After much serious reflection I have arrived at the conclusion that no such power has been delegated to Congress or to any other department of the federal government. It is manifest, upon an inspection of the constitution, that this is not among the specific and enumerated powers granted to Congress; and it is equally apparent that its exercise is not 'necessary and proper for carrying into execution' any one of these powers. So far from this power having been delegated to Congress, it was expressly refused by the Convention which framed the constitution.

"It appears from the proceedings of that body, that on the 31st May 1787, the clause 'authorizing an exertion of the force of the whole against a delinquent State,' came up for consideration. Mr. Madison opposed it in a brief but powerful speech, from which I shall extract but a single sentence. He observed: 'The use of force against a State would look more like a declaration of war than any infliction of punishment, and would probably be considered by the party attacked as a dissolution of all previous compacts by which it might be bound.' Upon his motion the clause was unanimously postponed, and was never, I believe, again presented. Soon afterwards, on the 8th June 1787, when incidentally advertiring to the subject, he said: 'Any government for the United States, formed on the supposed practicability of using force against the unconstitutional proceedings of the States, would prove as visionary and fallacious as the government of Congress'—evidently meaning the then existing Congress of the old confederation.

"Without descending to particulars, it may be safely asserted, that the power to make war against a State is at variance with the whole spirit of the constitution. Suppose such a war should result in the conquest of a State, how are we to govern it afterwards? Shall we hold it as a province, and govern it by despotic power? In the nature of things we could not, by physical force, control the will of the people, and compel them to elect Senators and Representatives to Congress, and to perform all the other duties depending upon their own volition, and required from the free citizens of a free State as a constituent member of the confederacy.

"But, if we possessed this power, would it be wise to exercise it under existing circumstances? The object would doubtless be to preserve the Union. War would not only present most effectual means of destroying it; but would banish all hope of its peaceful reconstruction. Besides, in the fraternal conflict a vast amount of blood and treasure would be expended, rendering future reconciliation between the States impossible. In the mean time, who can foretell what would be the sufferings and privations of the people during its existence?

"The fact is, that our Union rests upon public opinion, and can never be cemented by the blood of its citizens in civil war. If it cannot live in

the affections of the people, it must one day perish. Congress possesses many means of preserving it by conciliation; but the sword was not placed in their hand to preserve it by force.

"But I may be permitted solemnly to invoke my countrymen to pause and deliberate before they determine to destroy this, the grandest temple which has ever been dedicated to human freedom since the world began. It has been consecrated by the blood of our fathers, by the glories of the past, and by the hopes of the future. The Union has already made us the most prosperous, and, ere long, will, if preserved, render us the most powerful nation on the face of the earth. In every foreign region of the globe the title of American citizen is held in the highest respect, and when pronounced in a foreign land it causes the hearts of our countrymen to swell with honest pride. Surely, when we reach the brink of the yawning abyss, we shall recoil with horror from the last fatal plunge. By such a dread catastrophe the hopes of the friends of freedom throughout the world would be destroyed, and a long night of leaden despotism would enshroud the nations. Our example for more than eighty years would not only be lost, but it would be quoted as a conclusive proof that man is unfit for self-government.

"It is not every wrong—nay, it is not every grievous wrong—which can justify a resort to such a fearful alternative. This ought to be the last desperate remedy of a despairing people, after every other constitutional means of conciliation had been exhausted. We should reflect that under this free government there is an incessant ebb and flow in public opinion. The Slavery question, like every thing human, will have its day. I firmly believe that it has already reached and passed the culminating point. But if, in the midst of the existing excitement, the Union shall perish, the evil may then become irreparable. Congress can contribute much to avert it by proposing and recommending to the legislatures of the several States the remedy for existing evils, which the constitution has itself provided for its own preservation. This has been tried at different critical periods of our history, and always with eminent success. It is to be found in the fifth Article providing for its own amendment. Under this Article amendments have been proposed by two-thirds of both Houses of Congress, and have been 'ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States,' and have consequently become parts of the constitution. To this process the country is indebted for the clause prohibiting Congress from passing any law respecting an established religion, or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or of the right of petition. To this we are also indebted for the Bill of Rights, which secures the people against any abuse of power by the federal government. Such were the apprehensions justly entertained by the friends of State rights at that period as to have rendered it extremely doubtful whether the constitution could have long survived without these amendments.

"Again, the constitution was amended by the same process after the election of President Jefferson by the House of Representatives, in February 1803. This amendment was rendered

necessary to prevent a recurrence of the dangers which had seriously threatened the existence of the government during the pendency of that election. The article for its own amendment was intended to secure the amicable adjustment of conflicting constitutional questions like the present, which might arise between the governments of the States and that of the United States. This appears from contemporaneous history. In this connection, I shall merely call attention to a few sentiments in Mr. Madison's justly celebrated report, in 1799, to the Legislature of Virginia. In this he ably and conclusively defended the resolutions of the preceding Legislature, against the strictures of several other State Legislatures. These were mainly founded upon the protest of the Virginia Legislature against the 'Alien and Sedition Acts, as "palpable and alarming infractions of the constitution.' In pointing out the peaceful and constitutional remedies, he referred to none other to which the States were authorised to resort on such occasions, and concludes by saying 'that the Legislatures of the States might have made a direct representation to Congress with a view to obtain a rescinding of the two offensive Acts, or they might have represented to their respective Senators in Congress their wish that two-thirds thereof would propose an explanatory amendment to the constitution, or two-thirds of themselves, if such had been their option, might, by an application to Congress, have obtained a convention for the same object.'

"This is the very course which I earnestly recommend in order to obtain an 'explanatory amendment' of the constitution of the subject of Slavery. This might originate with the Congress or the State Legislatures, as may be deemed most advisable to attain the object.

"This explanatory amendment might be confined to the final settlement of the true construction of the constitution on three special points:

"1. An express recognition of the right of property in slaves in the States where it now exists or may hereafter exist.

"2. The duty of protecting this right in all the common Territories throughout their territorial existence, and until they shall be admitted as States into the Union, with or without Slavery.

"3. A like recognition of the right of the master to have his slave, who has escaped from one State to another, restored and 'delivered up' to him, and of the validity of the Fugitive Slave Law enacted for this purpose, together with a declaration that all State Laws impairing or defeating this right are violations of the constitution, and are consequently null and void.

"It may be objected that this construction of the constitution has already been settled by the Supreme Court of the United States, and what more ought to be required? The answer is, that a very large proportion of the people of the United States still contest the correctness of this decision, and never will cease from agitation, and admit its binding force, until clearly established by the people of the several States in their sovereign character. Such an explanatory amendment would, it is believed, for ever terminate the existing dissensions, and restore peace and harmony among the States.

"It ought not to be doubted that such an appeal to the arbitrament established by the constitution itself would be received with favour by all the States of the Confederacy. In any event it ought to be tried in a spirit of conciliation before any of these States shall separate themselves from the Union.

* * *

"KANSAS AND UTAH.

"At the period of my inauguration I was confronted in Kansas by a revolutionary government, existing under what is called the Topeka Constitution. Its avowed object was to subdue the territorial government by force, and to inaugurate what was called the Topeka Government in its stead. To accomplish this object, an extensive military organization was formed, and its command entrusted to the most violent revolutionary leaders. Under these circumstances it became my imperative duty to exert the whole constitutional power of the Executive to prevent the flames of civil war from again raging in Kansas, which in the excited state of the public mind, both North and South, might have extended into the neighbouring States.

"The hostile parties in Kansas had been inflamed against each other, by emissaries both from the North and the South, to a degree of malignity without parallel in our history. To prevent actual collision, and to assist the magistrates in enforcing the laws, a strong detachment of the army was stationed in the Territory, ready to aid the Marshal and his deputies when lawfully called upon, as a *posse comitatus* in the execution of civil and criminal process.

"Still the troubles in Kansas could not have been permanently settled without an election by the people. The ballot-box is the surest arbiter of disputes among freemen. Under this conviction, every proper effort was employed to induce the hostile parties to vote at the election of delegates to frame a State constitution, and afterwards at the election to decide whether Kansas should be a Slave or a Free State. The insurgent party refused to vote at either, lest this might be considered a recognition on their part of the Territorial government established by Congress. A better spirit, however, seemed soon after to prevail, and the two parties met face to face at the third election, held on the first Monday of January 1858, for members of the Legislature and State officers under the Lecompton constitution. The result was the triumph of the anti-slavery party at the polls. This decision of the ballot-box proved clearly that this party were in the majority, and removed the danger of civil war. From that time we have heard little or nothing of the Topeka Government; and all serious danger of revolutionary troubles in Kansas was then at an end.

"The Lecompton constitution, which had been thus recognised at this State election by the votes of both political parties in Kansas, was transmitted to me, with the request that I should present it to Congress. This I could not have refused to do without violating my clearest and strongest convictions of duty. The constitution, and all the proceedings which preceded and followed its formation were fair and regular on their face. I then believed, and experience has proved, that the interests of the people of Kansas would have

been best consulted by its admission as a State into the Union, especially as the majority, within a brief period, could have amended the constitution according to their will and pleasure. If fraud existed in all or any of these proceedings, it was not for the President, but for Congress, to investigate and determine the question of fraud, and what ought to be its consequences. If, at the two first elections, the majority refused to vote, it cannot be pretended that this refusal to exercise the elective franchise could invalidate an election fairly held under lawful authority, even if they had not subsequently voted at the third election. It is true that the whole constitution had not been submitted to the people, as I always desired; but the precedents are numerous of the admission of States into the Union without such submission.

"It would not comport with my present purposes to review the proceedings of Congress upon the Lecompton constitution. It is sufficient to observe that their final action has removed the last vestige of serious revolutionary troubles. The desperate band recently assembled, under a notorious outlaw, in the Southern portion of the territory, to resist the execution of the laws and to plunder peaceful citizens, will, I doubt not, be speedily subdued and brought to justice.

"Had I treated the Lecompton constitution as a nullity, and refused to submit it to Congress, it is not difficult to imagine, whilst recalling the position of the country at that moment, what would have been the disastrous consequences both in and out of the Territory, from such a dereliction of the duty on the part of the Executive.

ACQUISITION OF CUBA.

* * *

"I reiterate the recommendation contained in my Annual Message of December 1858, and repeated in that of December 1859, in favour of the acquisition of Cuba from Spain by fair purchase. I firmly believe that such an acquisition would contribute essentially to the well-being and prosperity of both countries to all future time, as well as prove the certain means of immediately abolishing the African slave-trade throughout the world. I would not repeat this recommendation upon the present occasion, if I believed that the transfer of Cuba to the United States, upon conditions highly favourable to Spain, could justly tarnish the national honour of the proud and ancient Spanish Monarchy. Surely no person ever attributed to the first Napoleon a disregard to the national honour of France, for transferring Louisiana to the United States for a fair equivalent both in money and commercial advantages.

AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE, &c.

"It is with great satisfaction I communicate the fact, that since the date of my last Annual Message, not a single slave has been imported into the United States in violation of the laws prohibiting the African slave-trade. This statement is founded upon thorough examination and investigation of the subject. Indeed, the spirit which prevailed some time since among a portion of our fellow-citizens in favour of this trade seems to have entirely subsided. •

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 1, 1861.

NOTICE.

SUBSCRIBERS to the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, and to the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, are respectfully reminded that their subscriptions fall due on the 1st of the current month. Remittances may be made by Post-office Order, or in postage-stamps, to Louis Alexis Chamerovzow, 27, New Broad Street, E.C., London.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

IN another column will be found the valedictory address of Mr. Buchanan, the outgoing President of the United States. It is taken up almost entirely with the one subject which is now stirring the American people as they never have been stirred since they were an independent community. It is the very weakest State-paper we have ever perused, and will most assuredly not add to Mr. Buchanan's reputation as a statesman. That it should breathe a thoroughly pro-slavery spirit is not surprising. But that, in the face of the most momentous crisis that has overtaken the country, he should abstain from enunciating what is the policy to be pursued, indicates either a foregone conclusion not to deal with the question, or indecision of purpose. Mr. Buchanan is not yet out of office. He may be required, between this time and March next—when his successor will be installed—to employ a vigorous course in relation to the secessionist States, and to determine whether they are or are not in a state of revolt. Now one portion of his Message asserts that they are in rebellion, while another accords them the full right to rebel, and denies the power of the Federal authority to coerce them into submission, and into a constitutional course to attain their ends. Mr. Buchanan has suddenly become very chary of the rights of the individual States of the Union; but when, in his Ostend manifesto, he advocated the seizure of Cuba by force, if it could not be obtained by purchase, he held different opinions it would seem. The principle he now advocates, of independence of action, ought to have been urged in relation to the rights of a foreign State with as much fervour as it is now asserted in favour of South Carolina. Grant that the Federal Government has, for State reasons, the right to seize upon Cuba—which is the Buchanan doctrine—it follows that similar reasons would justify it in preventing secession by force of arms; since, as Mr. Buchanan alleges, "secession is revolution, and revolution is destruction to the Union."

Mr. Buchanan deplores the progress of anti-slavery sentiment. It lies at the root of the troubles which distract the State. How comfortably every thing would go on, if the North would only leave this disturbing element of Slavery alone! What does the South ask for? Really nothing out of the way. It asks the North to catch and hold fast all its runaway slaves; to allow slaveholders to pass with their human chattels freely through the North; to permit emigrant slaveholders to settle in the Territories, taking their slaves with them, whether the majority of free settlers like it or not; to let Cuba be seized and annexed; to wink and connive at the re-opening of the African slave-trade; not to raise unpleasant questions in Congress, as to the right of a very inconsiderable minority to impose its will upon the majority; not to oppose the repeal of those compromises which were so many solemn obligations binding upon this same South, and which they would repudiate. Only these things does the South require, and indeed she will be very quiet. Why, absurdity cannot possibly go further; for though these demands are not expressed in so many words, they are involved in the simple solution which Mr. Buchanan offers of the question now at issue between the North and the South. As for his assertion that Southern matrons now lie down in nightly terror, lest their slaves should rise, it is not worth a moment's consideration: it is simply an extensive stretch of the Presidential imagination.

Mr. Buchanan might have spared himself the trouble of defining the duty of the Northern States with respect to the Fugitive Slave Law. A "higher law" has practically prevailed and over-ridden it. Was it not recently decided in the Supreme Court, in the case of the Lemmon slave, that when slaves are brought into a Free State by their owner, they are thereby freed from all obligation to follow him? And if this be law in cases where masters may be said to be yet in the exercise of their alleged right of ownership, how can any Fugitive Slave Law compel such State to return into Slavery men who have set the right of ownership in them at nought, and placed themselves beyond its control? Virtually the "higher law" operates in this wise in the great majority of cases, the legality of the claim of the owner notwithstanding, as asserted under the Fugitive Slave Law. If Mr. Buchanan concedes to any one State the right to rebel and to secede, then any State is at liberty to set at nought any Federal law; for that would be only rebellion. Hence, according to Mr. Buchanan's own admission, any State may refuse to execute the Fugitive Slave Law, and incur no penalty, because the Federal Government has not the right to coerce an indepen-

dent State in rebellion against its authority.

We might dwell upon other equally weak points in this "Message," but to do so would really serve no purpose. If we have devoted any space at all to the consideration of any portion of the document, it has been less because of its importance as a State-paper than because of its significant reference to the power of the anti-slavery party in the country, while affecting to despise it. We do not believe it will achieve what we suppose was its object, namely, the allaying of the strong feelings which are ripe in every State in the Union; but, like all weak declarations, will rather spur on parties to attempt a summary solution.

DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION.¹

THE one subject now uppermost in men's minds, on the other side of the Atlantic, is the possible disruption of the Southern from the Northern States of the American Republic. The question does not now arise for the first time, nor is the contingency wholly unanticipated. South Carolina—the State which is now taking the lead in the projected disunion movement—has always been, more or less, a sort of rebellious infant, impatient of Federal restraint, ever ready to flash and bang and fizz, under imaginary or real grievances, and, if we mistake not, she had even already once received correction at the hands of the Chief of the Republic. She has ever been a thorn in the side of the Federal Government; has cost the national treasury no end of dollars; and was not remarkable for patriotism during the revolutionary struggle, which ended in the declaration of American independence. She is distinguished for her arrogance, her self-sufficiency, her despotic tendencies, and her violence. Her latest grievance is the election of Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Hamlin, as President and Vice-President of the United States. These gentlemen happen to belong to the great Republican party; a party not, strictly speaking, anti-slavery, and still less Abolitionist, but nevertheless too far advanced in liberal opinions to be acceptable to South Carolina, and to the South generally. So, her senators have resigned. The Palmetto flag has been run up in place of the stars and stripes; the Governor has declared for secession; an appeal has been made to the young blood of Carolina to arm themselves in defence of the rights of the State—which, by the way, have not yet been attacked; the surrender of the forts held by the Federal troops is to be forthwith demanded, or they are to be stormed and taken by force; the collection of Customs dues and other national imports is repudiated; all classes are exhorted to join the movement

for disunion ; seven cadets of West Point have heroically renounced their commissions ; the Baptist denomination has issued a howling letter, crying up Slavery and crying down Lincoln ; and, in fact, the whole State is in such a turmoil, that any little thing as reasoning with its representatives is wholly out of the question.

Yet what is all the hubbub about ? Mr. Lincoln has not been smuggled into the Presidential chair. The election was fairly conducted, and decided according to established rule and constitutional principles. The South had its candidates, but they had the misfortune to be defeated, and it is this repulse which has exasperated South Carolina, and made her assume the initiative in a secession movement. Her present policy is to press this matter forward ; not to allow time for deliberation. It is said she hopes to drag with her the States of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Florida, persuaded that if these follow her example the remainder of the Slave States will have no alternative but to declare for secession also. Matters were in this condition when our last advices came to hand, previously to our going to press, and the crisis is one which demands our serious attention.

The first question suggested is, whether South Carolina is or is not in a state of open rebellion ? The second, if in rebellion, what is the duty of the Federal Government. President Buchanan declares that every State has a right to secede, and we believe the same view is taken by all the Northern journals. But the mode of secession is another matter, and it does not appear that South Carolina is justified in her present course. If a State desire to withdraw, she is bound to observe certain constitutional forms ; and were South Carolina in a sane and sober mood, she would no doubt act up to the requirements of the constitution. It is clear, therefore—admitting her right to secede—that in taking violent means to accomplish her end—and this Republican victory is a mere pretence, for secession has dwelt in her heart for years—she has placed herself in an attitude of open rebellion, and the Federal Government would be justified in interfering, and coercing her to act according to the constitution. This extreme measure, however, is not advocated even by the partisans of union, because the result would be a collision which would rally the entire sympathy of the South around the rebel State, and only complicate the difficulty of the present position. The only safe policy, therefore, is, for the Federal Government to await events, and deal with South Carolina and the other States as circumstances may arise.

But it must not be imagined that the secessionists are agreed as to the mode of

achieving their object. South Carolina leaps headlong over the constitution, and cries out to the other Southern States to follow her lead. Georgia proceeds by obstruction and revolutionary legislation, as evidenced by the late proceedings in that State, in the hostile message of Governor Brown ; in the resolution of the Legislature, recommending its representatives and senators to resist in Congress the counting of the Presidential votes of the States in which negroes have voted ; while in Virginia the plan suggested is to demand protective legislation of Congress for Slavery in the Territories, as a condition of continuing in the Union. The other States will probably be equally independent in their mode of action. In this diversity of view, therefore, there is hope ; for unless a definite plan be accepted by all, there can be no solution of the disunion question, in the direction aimed at by South Carolina.

It is regarded as certain, that if disunion take place, and the Southern States constitute themselves into an independent federation, the re-opening of the African slave-trade, the annexation of Cuba, and the extension of Slavery will form the distinctive features of its policy. Now we do not believe that any European Power would dare to form an alliance with a Republic founded upon such a basis. Indeed, without a stultification of the policy of the last half century, Europe could not enter into so wicked a connexion. It is premature to dwell upon the contingency, though it is quite deserving of more than a passing notice.

In fine, although matters appear very threatening, we foresee so many difficulties and complications as likely to arise to impede the revolutionary action of the Southern party, that the tendency of our judgment is to believe in the ultimate prevalence of saner opinions. One thing we most sincerely hope—it is that the Republican party, having achieved one great victory, will stand firm, and not condescend to any compromise to avert the threatened dismemberment of the Union, should this become an alternative.

THE SLAVE-TRADE FROM THE MOZAMBIQUE CHANNEL.

NOTWITHSTANDING repeated assertions to the contrary, made by the Portuguese officials, and affirmed by the Portuguese Government, there is no doubt that a very extensive trade in slaves is carried on at this time from the Mozambique Channel. We occasionally find a record in the naval intelligence of the pursuit and sometimes the capture of a slaver in those waters. The reports of the officers of the cruising squadron, though extremely meagre, leave no doubt of the fact ; but the venality of the Portuguese officials on the coast is so great,

that there appears to be very little hope of the traffic being stopped until the Government of Portugal resolves to deal summarily with the evil. The territory on the east coast over which Portugal claims sovereignty extends from Delagoa Bay northwards to Cape Delgado. Great Britain has never, we believe, conceded to Portugal that entire jurisdiction which she claims over this large extent of coast line, but has permitted her to exercise it on condition of her throwing open the ports upon the sea-board; thus practically laying down the principle that freedom of commerce is one of the most potent means of suppressing the slave-trade. It is well known that Portugal has not fulfilled her part of the agreement, and that the chief object of Dr. Livingstone's expedition is to open up the river and valley of the Zambesi. He has, however, encountered every impediment from the Portuguese local authorities, though, thanks to their hostility, which led them to close against him what they supposed to be the only mouth of that noble river, it led to his discovering a second and an equally practicable channel, and to that of the Shire valley and river. The Portuguese territorial claims extend one hundred miles inland. Practically they are extremely limited, owing to the hostility of the natives; and it has been ascertained that the slave-trade proper radiates from one extremely small district, so that its suppression ought to be comparatively an easy task, were only the proper means adopted for attacking it at its centre. The attention of the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* is being directed to this important subject, with a view to a solution of alleged difficulties.

It appears, too, that a very large trade in negroes is carried on from Zanzibar, an adjacent island, belonging to the Imaum of Muscat, with whom Great Britain has a slave-trade suppression treaty. We are assured by competent authority that slaves have been exported thence in French vessels to the Island of Reunion within a few months. We are also given to understand that H.M. Consul at Zanzibar has set forth the fact in his despatches, though the public is not likely to have the evidence before it until some two years hence, when the Slave-trade Papers, bringing down information to the close of the present year, will perhaps be published.

In confirmation of the statement we have made above, we subjoin, from the *Cape of Good Hope and Port Natal Shipping and Mercantile Gazette* of the 19th of October last, a couple of paragraphs, which will throw some light upon the manner of prosecuting the trade from the east coast:

On the 7th of August, the *Lyra*, then at Zanzibar, received information from a dhow that a

slaver was at anchor off the island of Monfia, where she instantly proceeded. The *Lyra* was disguised as a merchant vessel, and carried French colours. The next day she saw a bark anchored at the north-east of the island, flying Mexican colours. The *Lyra* anchored alongside of her, and then hoisted English colours and sent a boat to board her, when something heavy at the same time was thrown overboard from her (supposed to be a gun, and her papers). The bark, upon being boarded, proved to be a vessel of four hundred tons, fully equipped for the slave-trade. The Mexican colours were hauled down at the very moment the *Lyra*'s people got on board, and they disappeared with all her papers. She had a slave-deck ready laid, fitted to convey a thousand slaves—in fact, an individual, supposed to be the master, admitted that she was endeavouring to secure a cargo of one thousand four hundred slaves. Her hatches were covered with the usual slave gratings, and she had fifty iron tanks and about ninety double-leaguer casks, all filled with fresh water; a double cooking range, capable of cooking food for the full complement of slaves, and a proportionate supply of slave-pannkins, wooden-spoons, and tubs. No effort was made to conceal her real character. She was taken possession of by Commander Oldfield, and sent down, in charge of Lieutenant de Wahl, to Table Bay, where she arrived on Saturday morning. She will be forthwith placed in the Admiralty Court by the Admiralty solicitors, Fairbridge and Hull. The destination of the bark is supposed to have been Vera Cruz. Her size is 352 tons, and she is a very handsome and fast-sailing craft. This is Commander Oldfield's fifteenth prize.

Crossing the bar at Zanzibar in the ship's gig, taking papers and despatches to Dr. Livingstone, the gig filled with surf and went down, and Lieutenant de Wahl and Paymaster Seveke, and four men, were washed out of the boat. Lieutenant de Wahl and the men swam on shore on the oars, pushing the boat before them, but the paymaster was drowned. He could not swim, and went to the bottom at once. They were in the water three quarters of an hour.

CAPTURE OF A SLAVER BY HER MAJESTY'S STEAMER "BRISK."

The *Lyra* was on the look-out for a slaver, of which she had received information, and the slaver had information of the fact that the *Lyra* was on the look-out for her. She was attempting to get out of the way of the *Lyra*'s boats, and ran into the teeth of the *Brisk*, just at the south end of Johanna. She is a fine well-built ship of eight hundred tons, and had eight hundred and forty-six slaves on board. Admiral Keppel was on board the *Brisk* when the capture was made, and he ordered her on to the Mauritius.

Lieutenant de Wahl, on his way down with the slaver captured by the *Lyra*, sighted the *Fonosa Trella*, a slaver—supposed to have a very large sum of money on board. The lieutenant hoisted Mexican colours; and this vessel answered in the same colours, but would not bring to. The *Lyra* is on the look-out for her.

A SLAVER'S RUN.

A SHORT time ago the U.S. steamer *Crusader* brought to Key West, Florida, a slaver, the *City of Norfolk*, which had been stranded on the Cuban coast. The following statement, made by one of the crew, respecting the voyage of the vessel, will be found interesting. He says :

"The *City of Norfolk* sailed from the port of New York on the 5th day of June last, for the purpose, as we were informed, of entering the service of the Government of Venezuela as a transport. The steamer arrived at St. Thomas's, the passage occupying ten days, where we remained six days, and discharged a part of the cargo, consisting of tobacco and packages of merchandise apparently, the contents of which were unknown to us. While lying at this port we received on board the steamer 200 tons of coal and 18 large casks, the contents of which were not known by us at the time. We sailed thence for Barcelona, the passage occupying three days, where we took in a quantity of fresh provisions (for the cabin) and an enormous quantity of fresh water for the ship's use. Suspicions of wrong were aroused, but again allayed, on account of the nature of our voyage, as a transport, necessarily requiring a larger quantity than as a trader. On the fifth day out of St. Thomas's the seamen were ordered below to open the casks above mentioned, and found them to contain rice, beans, &c., besides a number of kegs of spoons, small tin cups, razors, and combs. This circumstance was made the theme of conversation forward, and, after mature deliberation, we went to the captain in a body, requesting to be informed of his intentions, and the destination of the ship; upon which he frankly admitted that he was bound for the coast of Africa, for the purpose of procuring a cargo of slaves. We expressed to him our decided unwillingness to go, and that he should have informed us of that fact while in port. He replied that he wished to hear no more from us, ordering us to go to our work, and threatening to starve us into compliance in case of refusal. We made the coast in 36 days, on Sunday, August 12, and embarked 770 slaves; sailed on the same day for a place called San Marino; and on the tenth day out discovered the propeller to be out of order, one of the body-pins having worked out. We succeeded in repairing damages by means of a cable taken round the propeller, and stood on under canvas only for 25 days, when we removed the cable and started the engines, which worked as well as usual, excepting that we feared to reverse them. On the morning of October 1st we disembarked and landed the negroes on a small quay, about 18 miles from San Marino, where the captain was persuaded by a fisherman to do so, on account of two or three steamers of war which were on the look out for him. After landing all the negroes, the captain, engineers, firemen, and some of the sailors took the steamer and stood out to sea, for the purpose of sinking and removing all vestiges of her. They removed the pipe of the fresh-water condenser and the bottom of the delivery-valve, secured the wheel in a certain position, and abandoned her, standing out to sea under a full head of steam. At daylight the next

morning we found the steamer had rounded to and ran ashore on the same quay that we had landed on the previous day. The captain, being alarmed, proposed to convey the negroes to the main land in lighters, and, the plan appearing the most feasible, his proposal was at once carried into effect. We had succeeded in removing 108 negroes when a Spanish cruiser hove in sight, and the captain and officers fled to parts unknown, leaving us to look out for ourselves. The cruiser came to anchor, manned her boats and pulled in for the quay. Our party endeavoured to effect their escape in one of our boats, but in consequence of the overloaded state of the boat were overhauled, and, together with the remaining negroes, transferred to her Catholic Majesty's steamer *Isabel*, and carried to Havana, where we were quartered until the evening of the 7th of October; when we were transferred to the United States' steamer *Crusader*, Lieutenant Commanding J. N. Maffit, and conveyed to Key West, Florida, where we were discharged, after receiving all the courtesy and hospitality that could be rendered."

The following is another history of a slaver's cruise, taken from the *New-York Tribune*:

CAPTURE OF A SLAVER.

Seven hundred and fifty slaves on board.

"The bark *Cora*, of about 350 tons, of New York, under the command of Henderson Eastman, sailing-master of the *Constellation*, flagship of the African Squadron, arrived at this port on Saturday from Monrovia, and anchored off the Navy Yard at four P.M. She was captured on the coast of Africa by the *Constellation* on the 26th September, with 705 slaves on board. The following is a detailed account of the capture and subsequent events connected therewith :

"The *Constellation* left Boston in July, 1859, with a crew of about 350 all told, officers and men. She is a 22-gun sloop, and was rebuilt in Norfolk in 1853, from the old frigate that, in the war of 1812, attained some fame under the command of Commodore Truxon. She made one cruise to the Mediterranean in 1853-54-55. For nearly a year and a half she has been actively employed in cruising on the western coast of Africa, between 18° south latitude and 32° north. During the first six months of her trip she captured, after ten hours' chase, a brig without colours or papers, named the *Delicia*, which was sent to Charleston. There were, however, no slaves on board.

"The *Constellation* left Loanda on the 8th of September, and cruized off the Congo River up to the 25th. On that day her course was shaped to return to that place for the purpose of getting wood, water, and provisions. At half-past seven o'clock in the evening, while thirty miles south of Congo, the cry was made of "Sail on the weather bow." At the time of making the sail, which was about five miles distant, it was thought she was a packet from Loanda bound to Boston —no slavers being supposed to cruise on that part of the coast. The *Constellation*, however, immediately gave chase. In an hour and a half the pursuers had gained enough on her to make

out from her rig that she was not one of the regular packets. After getting within about two miles of the stranger, a gun was fired for the purpose of bringing her to; but, instead of heaving to, she kept on her course. At this time the *Constellation* was going ten knots an hour, and slowly gaining on the slaver. After an interval of some thirty minutes another gun was fired, but to which no attention was paid by the slaver. It was then eleven o'clock, the breeze had freshened a little, and the *Constellation* was going at the rate of nine knots by log. The fugitive was now within range, and nearly ahead. A 32-pounder was shifted to the bow port of the *Constellation*, and another shot fired; but the slaver did not seem to mind it, and kept on her course. The pursuers then kept away a little, to get ready to set their stun'sails if necessary. By this time they had approached to within 500 yards of the vessel, and were still gaining on her, but she did not heave to. The *Constellation* now fired another gun loaded with shot, which cut away some of the slaver's port stun'sail gear. The bark then braced her main yard aback, the *Constellation* ranging up under her lee quarter, and Commodore Eastman ordered her to haul up her courses. An armed boat was then lowered, and the prize boarded. Commodore Eastman asked what ship it was, and where was the American captain. He was answered in Spanish by a gentleman, who received him very politely, that it was the bark *Cora*, that the American captain had remained ashore, and that he (the Spaniard) had command of the ship; that she had 705 slaves on board, was twenty-four hours out from Mangul Grande, and concluded by congratulating Commander Eastman on the excellence of the prize. Commander Eastman then called all the crew of the slaver to the gangway, and sent all of them, except three Americans and five Spaniards, the latter being retained to take charge of the Africans, in a boat to the *Constellation*. They numbered about twenty-five men, and were made up mainly of Spaniards and Portuguese, with one Chinaman and three Americans.

"Commander Eastman, assuming command of the *Cora*, now began examining the ship and her cargo. She appeared to be new, handsomely fitted out, and far superior to the class of vessels that are generally employed in the slave-trade. Those vessels engaged in the Cuba trade are very poor, as a general thing, and are usually burned after landing a cargo. The hold was filled with men and boys, and her cabin with women. Two-thirds of the whole number were under fifteen years of age. All were in a perfectly nude state. They were classified as follows: 172 men, 106 women, 343 boys, 81 girls, and 3 babes at the breast. Commander Eastman represents them to have been fat and hearty, seemingly unconscious and careless of their situation, and all gabbling at a great rate, while the sounds emitted were void of any well-defined articulations. Thirty tierces of rice, ninety barrels of bread, and a large quantity of beans, with a light store of beef, were found.

"At one o'clock the two ships got under weigh, and until early daylight the *Constellation* kept on at an easy rate, the *Cora* following her at

respectful distance. The next day was occupied in getting the *Cora* ready to go to Monrovia, the place designated by Government for the delivery of recaptured Africans. The distance was some 1400 miles. The next day, the 27th September, the vessels parted company, and the *Cora* proceeded to Monrovia, where she arrived on the 15th October, without any accident, except the loss by death of eleven of the negroes.

"During the voyage two meals per day were given the negroes. The morning meal consisted of a junk of bread and some water, and at three p.m. a dinner of boiled beans one day and boiled rice the next was served. Their appetites appeared to be first-rate, and there was little necessity for washing the dishes after a meal was over, for the negroes displayed an expertness in licking the tubs that would defy competition on the part of the most painstaking dog.

"The five Spaniards who took special charge of the dining arrangements would set the blacks in messes of fifteen and sixteen, in a circle on deck, with a wooden tub of boiled rice or beans in the centre of each group. After all were duly ranged around the smoking tubs, the Spaniards made them go through an exercise of clapping their hands and singing, which lasted about three quarters of an hour. By this time the repast would have partially cooled off, and the negroes were allowed to "pitch in," the one having the largest hands getting most. They seemed, however, very kind to each other, and if a boy got an extra large piece of bread, he was always ready to share it with his companions. They appeared contented and in good spirits throughout the voyage.

"Arrived at Monrovia, the captured Africans were delivered over to the United-States Agent, Mr. Seyes, whose duty it is to apportion them out to families—a certain amount being paid by Government for the support for one year of recaptured Africans.

"The *Cora*, with a crew of ten men and the three Americans found on her at the time she was taken, left Monrovia on the 18th October and arrived at this port, as stated above, last Saturday. Monday she was to be put in the hands of Marshal Rynders, who retains control of her until the proper tribunals shall have declared her a lawful prize. The first, second, and third officers, named Frederick, Wilson, and Olson (the three Americans referred to), are also to be put in the Marshal's custody to await their trial.

"It will be remembered that the *Cora* was detained in port for several days last May, on suspicion that she had been fitted out for the slave-trade, but was finally allowed to depart."

SLAVERY AND ENGLISH WESLEYAN METHODISM.

THE importance of what is called Church action, against Slavery, cannot be overestimated. It has long been attested, and the truth of the assertion is admitted, that if Slavery did not exist in the Church, it could not live out of it. Very much ignorance prevails, we believe, as to the connection

existing between certain religious denominations in this country and the slaveholding section of the same denominations in the United States; wherefore the following letter, recently addressed to the Editor of the *Morning Star*, is of importance, as exhibiting the action of the English Wesleyan Methodists in relation to their co-religionists in the United States, and also as presenting an excellent synopsis of the history of the schism which has divided the American Methodists into two distinct bodies.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "STAR AND DIAL."

"SIR—In your review of Mr. Edge's most important book on the 'Contest between Free and Slave Labour in the United States,' a quotation is given from his work, which, by implication, denies or ignores the fact that the *English Wesleyan Conference* has spoken out most unmistakeably on the subject of Slavery in its fraternal communications with the *American Methodist Episcopal Church*. That your reviewer has so understood Mr. Edge is evident from the appeal which he makes:—'The Baptists of this country have recently addressed a faithful remonstrance to their co-religionists in America. Will the English Methodists imitate this good example? or will they, by their criminal silence, plead guilty to the charge of conservatism which Mr. Edge brings against them?'

"For many reasons I believe Mr. Edge to be incapable of a malicious intention to injure the character of *English Wesleyan Methodism*; but, through a most unaccountable ignorance of this particular part of the subject on which he writes, such injury has been committed by him. No one reading his book, and unacquainted with facts to be ascertained from other sources, would suppose that there existed more than one *General Conference of Methodists* in America, and that its jurisdiction extended over the whole denomination of *Episcopal Methodists* in the United States. Mr. Edge ought to have known that in 1845 the several annual conferences of the *Methodist Episcopal Church* in the slaveholding States formally and legally renounced the jurisdiction of what till that time had been the general conference of the *Methodist Episcopal Church*, and formed these conferences 'into a distinct organization, to be known by the style and title of the *Methodist Episcopal Church, South*.' I quote their own form of designation. This secession arose from the increasing anti-slavery feelings of the North, as manifest by more stringent laws affecting official members of the Church holding slaves.

"The *Methodist Episcopal Church, South*, is most notoriously a slaveholding Church; and if it be true, as I believe it is, that the American Churches are the bulwark of American Slavery, the heaviest curse of God rests upon that Church.

"Now, what has been the attitude of English Methodism in reference to this secession?

The British Conference has never had any communication with it. Members belonging to it, visiting England during the assembly of the British Conference, have applied for the courtesy

of attending some of its sittings, and have been refused permission to cross the threshold.

"We blush that the name of Methodism should be connected with the pollution of Slavery, not merely as that is tolerated but sanctioned and defended by the *Methodist Episcopal Church, South*.

"The *Methodist Church, North*, is a protesting anti-slavery Church. It is based on that principle, or it cannot defend having been the occasion of the Southern secession. With that Church the British Methodist Conference holds fraternal intercourse.

"In the territorial division which took place when the South Church seceded, from causes which I need not now state, the *Methodist Episcopal Church, North*, included within it the slave territory of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, and Arkansas. In these border States, Slavery and anti-slavery principles are in antagonism. There can be no question that a number of Methodists, avowedly belonging to the Northern Church, hold slaves in these States. The number probably is not large, but on a question of principle the terms large or small, as affecting a violation of it, are inadmissible. A noble effort is getting made by earnest men in the North to bring the letter of the law on the subject of slaveholding to affect the Church membership of any one retaining communion with their Church. The *General Conference, North*, which is held once in four years, assembled in Buffalo in May last. A distinct motion was made for the amendment of the rule, as I have specified. The delegates of the Border Conferences, as might be expected, were united against it. The discussion lasted for seven or eight days. It is only fair to state that on both sides the horrid enormity of Slavery was admitted, and that the discussion really turned 'on what was the most scriptural and effectual way of discountenancing and finally overthrowing the iniquity.' The vote was taken on May 29. Two hundred and thirteen members of the Conference were present, and 139 voted for the change of the rule, and 74 against it. A vote of two-thirds of the Conference, however, is required for the change of a rule, and the motion was lost by three votes only.

"But what action did British Methodism take on this subject at the Buffalo Conference? An Address from the Wesleyan Conference was presented, containing these words:—'We take the present opportunity of re-affirming our declarations against the entire system of Slavery; and from your own avowed principles, as well as from the efforts and sacrifices which you have already made in support of them, we entertain a confident persuasion that, at your approaching General Conference, you will use all practicable means to separate the Church and the land from so great an evil.'

"Nor was this all that was done by British Methodism. Believing in the sincerity of the Conference in all its protests against the evil and sin of Slavery, many of the Wesleyan ministers and office-bearers sent memorials on the subject to the General Conference. When presented to the Conference, it was decided by the chair that the speaker was not in order at that time. The rejection of the memorials, even as an *ab-extra*

interference, was actually moved by a sensitive advocate of a change in the rule. The 'London Review' says that 'the memorials were treated with mortifying, but not undeserved contempt.' A paltry sneer, unworthy of the literary organ of English Methodism, but indicating the arrogance with which some men, united with others for a common object, assume the wisdom of their own course, and the folly of that which others adopt. The friends of the memorials adopted a better plan than urging their reception on the Conference. They printed 8000 copies of a catalogue of the memorials, giving the names of places, ministers, &c., appended. Forty-six memorials were sent, signed by 104 Wesleyan ministers, and 1047 mostly official members, and thus, in a measure, representing about 30,000 members in their several circuits.

"These were placed in the hands of all the delegates and visitors, and, on the authority of a minister present, I may add, 'the moral effect was even greater on the Conference than it could have been had the memorials been quietly received and referred when presented.'

"I fear that I have trespassed on your time and patience, but the importance of the subject must be my apology. 'The signs of the times' are significant for the future of Methodism in America, as well as for the States themselves. The election of a Republican President will strengthen the hands of the anti-slavery party, and whoever lives to see the *General Conference of the Episcopal Church* in 1864, will witness the purgation of that Church in all its dependencies, so far at least as statute law can accomplish it, from all complicity with 'buying, selling, or holding men, women, or children, with an intention to enslave them.'—I am, Sir, yours, &c.,

"GEORGE BROWNE MACDONALD.
"Manchester, Dec. 15."

COLOURED REFUGEES IN CANADA.
THE condition of the fugitives from Slavery, who have escaped over to the Canadian border, is a topic of great importance to the cause of freedom generally. A recent number of *The Detroit Tribune* contains the last report of the Canada *Refugee Home Society*, read at the Eighth Annual Meeting of the Society, held in the lecture-room of the *Congregational Church*, Detroit, on the 12th of October last. It is brief, but deeply interesting, and we therefore make no apology for inserting it *in extenso*.

"EIGHTH ANNUAL REPORT.

"In presenting the Eighth Annual Report, the Executive Committee are happy to inform the Society and its patrons that their labours for the Fugitive Slaves in Canada are, by the Divine blessing, no longer an experiment.

"Uneducated, inexperienced in self-control and self-reliance, untaught in economy or the worth of time, perverted and dwarfed in their moral natures, commencing the new life in freedom, burdened with the disadvantages of abject poverty, the Society could expect the beginning of their undertaking to be fraught with no other re-

sults than present relief to the people thus disabled, and then wait patiently for the solution of the problem they have undertaken to demonstrate.

"Eight years have passed since the formation of the Society, and the world may now, if ever, demand the results of what has been thus far deemed an experiment. We report, then, that the fugitives under the Society's care have demonstrated the first fact in human nature, that they are 'subject to like passions as other men,' and thus irrefragably established their claim to the manhood that by some is blasphemously denied them.

"They have also established their susceptibility to culture, growth, and improvement. While they are far from comparing favourably with the highest forms of civilization and moral culture, they are nevertheless free from many of the vices of our own Anglo-Saxon ancestors.

"The most favoured of ancient nations were afflicted with the extremest vices in extremest forms. But these crimes are unknown to the fugitives in Canada, as a rule; for it is a scripture doctrine, corroborated by fact, that extreme poverty tends to crime, and no superiority is claimed for the black man over his white brother.

"A Roman pagan attempted to deify his horse, by demanding divine honours to be paid to him. The Anglo-Saxon Christian reverses the experiment, by attempting to efface divinity from enslaved humanity, and investing it with the prerogatives belonging to the horse. The fugitive, repudiating these equally revolting extremes, flies to Canada, that he may be invested with the rights of a man, asking not equality with the gods, and scorning companionship with the horse.

"The annals of history furnish no records of more heroic bravery, unconquerable determination, enduring perseverance, and patient suffering to escape the tyrant's rule, than is yearly exhibited by the fugitives who assert their manhood by their flight to Canada. This single fact is enough to silence for ever, with all honest minds, the charge, that 'the fugitives in Canada can't take care of themselves.'

"Men who have been successful in eluding the keen scent of the bloodhound, and the keen scent of his meaner associate, the slave-catcher—men who have traversed forests and climbed mountains without a guide, crossed broad rivers, defied cold and hunger, and nakedness, and storms, without a shelter, and darkness without a torch—men who have, for weeks and months, borne up under such trials, and battled successfully with such obstacles, need no other diploma for an ability to 'take care of themselves,' after reaching the land 'where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest.'

"There is especial reason for recording these facts in this Annual Report, as, during the past year, a combined, simultaneous, and determined effort has been put forth to poison the public mind, by decrying these unfortunate people, and by falsifying the character and success of the Society's labours in their behalf. Pre-eminent among these defamers are the *New-York Herald*, its subaltern in this city, and a contributor in this city to the *Philadelphia Ledger*. The former

had the magnanimity to open its columns for a full correction of its errors. But to such a grace the latter are not likely to attain. We will not decide for others of what credence the affirmation of men are deserving, who pronounce the black man to have been born to, and fitted only for a life of Slavery. They desire for the bondman no other soul than instinct, no pleasure but in depravity, no hope but in sensuality, and no mind above the animals.

"They patronize and invest with divine honours an arrangement that gravitates fearfully to such results.

"What wonder, then, that they are scandalized when the negro escapes to Canada, and thus, by a single act, demonstrates both his own manhood and the putrid ethics of his traducers and tormentors.

"A brief inventory of the stock in trade with which these people commence their career in freedom may well demand that all judgments concerning them be formed with charity. The American slaveholder being more cruel and unjust than the Egyptian taskmaster, the slave knows well how futile would be the attempt to 'borrow' jewels or raiment for his journey. He therefore enters upon a wilderness pilgrimage with no treasures but the rags that invest him. The more favoured Hebrew departed from the house of bondage with his flocks and herds, and a mind well stored with encouraging and happy traditions; but the African exile is attended by no flocks save bloodhounds and wolves. He has no tradition but of sundered ties, of limbs fettered and gory, of hearts desolate and broken.

"Thus he enters his earthly Canaan, sometimes with and sometimes without his wife and children—but not to find 'a land flowing with milk and honey.' And thus he comes under the Society's care. And from such beginnings there are many hundreds, if not thousands of families, who by industry, skill, and economy, have secured for themselves small farms, where they are surrounded with many of the comforts of a happy home. There are multitudes of children in the Society's schools, and in others. They have already made commendable progress in all the branches taught in the common schools; children and youth, who a few years ago came from Slavery, 'unable to spell the name of the Lord that brought them.' The teachers in these schools, except a few from England and Scotland, are from New England, New York, and the Western States, and nearly all formerly teachers in white schools; and the unanimous testimony of these teachers is, that the capacity of the coloured child for acquisition is equal to the white.

"The settlers on the Society's lands have gathered bountiful harvests of various crops from their farms during the season. The following is an inventory of the garden attached to the first farm we approached, in visiting the settlement on Little River:

"*List of Vegetables.*—Corn, beans, peas, squashes, cucumbers, parsnips, carrots, melons, tomatoes, radishes, red peppers, beets, seventeen onion-beds, twenty rows of cabbages, asparagus, Irish potatoes, sweet potatoes, pie-plant, celery, vegetable oysters.

"*Fruits.*—Apples, peaches, pears, cherries, plums, currants, gooseberries, raspberries, strawberries, grapes.

"The above garden is laid out with walks, mounds, ornamental trees, and over thirty varieties of flowers and mints. There are many other gardens in the vicinity nearly, if not quite, as good as this.

"During the past winter the school and settlers on the Puce River have been called to deplore an irreparable loss, in the death of our excellent teacher, Mrs. Hotchkiss. Full of pity for the people for whose elevation her life was devoted, this lovely woman consumed years of patient toil and self-denial with a zeal and constancy that no discouragement could abate.

"By how great have been her love to, and the sacrifices for the Master's work, by so great shall be her reward in the resurrection.

"The Executive Committee would assure Mr. Hotchkiss and his children of their warmest sympathy in this bereavement. They also tender to Mr. Hotchkiss their acknowledgements for his services in promoting the interests of the Society.

"The school on Little River is prosperous. It has numbered, during the summer, over seventy pupils. The school of Mrs. Carey, in Chatham, also numbers over seventy.

"The Executive Committee have pledged to her the support of a teacher for a year. This they are enabled to do by the generosity of Wm. G. West, Esq., of New York, who has pledged to this object 150 dollars.

"The settlement at Bell River has made less progress than was anticipated a year ago. About a dozen farms are engaged and occupied. The Society have one improved farm under cultivation, for the aged, the infirm, and new comers.

"So long as the fugitives are liable to be seized and replunged into Slavery from the Northern States, so long will they need an outfit on entering the asylum afforded them in Canada. It is to be hoped the humane will not turn a deaf ear to claims so imperative.

"The Report being accepted and adopted, the Society proceeded to the annual election of officers. The Society then adjourned.

A BLACK COMPANION OF THE BATH.

THERE has lived, during the last sixty years, in Jamaica, a man whose public and private life has been singularly disinterested and heroic; who at the outset of his career gave evidence of fine literary abilities, but who earned his first title to the consideration of his fellow-countrymen, by his advocacy, even at the hazard of his life, of a cause which has always commanded the sympathy of good men, namely, the complete recognition of the social and civil rights of the negro and his descendants. We need scarcely add that we refer to the Hon. Edward Jordan, upon whom the Queen has recently conferred a Companionship of the Order of the Bath; an honour which, we believe, has never before been bestowed upon one of the

African race." We have much pleasure in recording the facts, and also in reproducing, from a West-India cotemporary, a biographical sketch of this remarkable man.

Edward Jordan is the son of Edward Jordan. The father kept a sweetmeat and pickle establishment. Young Jordan, after leaving school, commenced life as a clerk in a clothing establishment. At that time politics began to run high. The free coloured people looked for their social and political rights. Mr. Jordan caught the flame about 1825; he associated himself with Robert Osborn, also a young man, and a practical printer by trade. These, aided by able writers, started a weekly paper, called *The Watchman*, in the interests of the coloured people, with the avowed object of procuring their political rights.

Among the many shameful disabilities the coloured man laboured under, was that no man could transmit to his coloured offspring a legacy exceeding £1200., in order to keep that class of people impoverished and dependent. Jordan and Osborn, with their coadjutors, obtained all the political privileges they could desire for the class of coloured people to which they belonged, and now turned their attention to the unconditional emancipation of the enslaved coloured race within the British West Indies.

A committee of twenty-five substantial coloured men was formed for that purpose. The whole of them are now dead except Hon. Richard Hill, a man of almost European reputation, being well known as the author of the Ornithology of Jamaica, together with Mr. Gosse, Hon. Edward Jordan, James Taylor, the senior Member of the Jamaica House of Assembly, and Mr. Escoffery. They made such an impression on the dominant party that they secured the advocacy of Mr. Richard Barrett, one of the largest landed proprietors in the island, who subsequently became Speaker of the House of Assembly.

Shortly after the second French Revolution, in 1830, while Mr. Jordan was absent from Kingston, an article appeared in *The Watchman*, holding up to the coloured people the example of the French in the attainment of their political liberties. The article commenced by saying—"The streets of Paris have recently flowed with blood, and it may not be long before the streets of Kingston may witness a similar sight." After a lengthy argument on the subject the article concluded with these memorable words—"Now that we have the Hon. Member for Westmoreland on our side, we will give a pull, a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull all together, bring the whole fabric down with a run, strike the chains from the captive, and let the oppressed go free."

This language was considered treasonable; and on Mr. Jordan's return to Kingston, he attended the Assize Court one day as a reporter to his own paper, when, to his great surprise, he heard the Clerk to the Crown proclaim a true bill against Edward Jordan for constructive treason! He was immediately apprehended, and, without the slightest preparation, placed at once in the dock and arraigned. He pleaded "Not guilty," but intimated to the Court that he was

not ready for the trial, as he had had no time to prepare his defence. The plea was allowed, and the case was traversed to the next Court.

In this extremity, Mr. Beaumont, the Member for Westmoreland, came to his aid. Mr. Beaumont was one of the most remarkable men that Jamaica had ever produced, and the island has produced a Lord Chief-Judge of England. Mr. Beaumont commenced life in the humblest grade of a planter, but becoming disgusted with such a life, he studied law. Though he was never called to the bar, he was more than a match for all the lawyers in the island. Although steeped in poverty, he was elected as a Member of Assembly for his native parish, Westmoreland. At first he evinced the most bitter hostility against the people of colour, and to his commanding talent must be attributed the prolonged struggle in which they were engaged before they could obtain their rights. At length Beaumont became convinced of the justice of their cause, upon which he became as warm an advocate in their favour as he had previously been bitter against them. It is to this change in his political opinions that the article in *The Watchman* alluded.

It could not be pretended that the alleged obnoxious article was written by Mr. Jordan. He could only be held as the publisher and editor of *The Watchman*, and there was but one man that could prove that fact, and that was Robert Osborn, his present partner.

Laying hold of this circumstance, Mr. Beaumont advised Osborn when on the witness stand to maintain a dogged silence when the question was put to him, "Who is the editor and publisher of *The Watchman*? and to assign as a reason for that silence that principle of British law which does not compel a witness to answer any question that may tend to criminate himself. "But," said Mr. Beaumont, "Mr. Osborn, you must prepare for a lengthened, even a perpetual imprisonment, to save your friend's life." Mr. Osborn acted upon the hint, and when before the Court he respectfully yet firmly refused to say who were the editors and publishers of *The Watchman*, and pleaded the principle already alluded to. That principle saved him from imprisonment. The Judge dared not assume so arbitrary a power as to imprison the witness.

On the termination of the trial serious riots apprehended. It has subsequently been ascertained that in the event of a verdict of "Guilty," and any attempt on the part of the people to rescue the prisoner, as was certainly expected, Mr. Jordan was to have been shot in the dock. The lawyers for the prosecution, and the partisans of the corrupt island government, went into Court for that purpose. A vessel of war was brought up from Port Royal abreast of Kingston, the guns of which were pointed up one of the main streets; and at almost every street leading to the sea, a merchant vessel was moored, armed at least with one great gun, pointing in a similar direction to rake the streets from bottom to top. The detachment of soldiers at the barracks in Kingston were kept under arms, with orders to be ready for action at a moment's notice. The regiment stationed at Up Park Camp, a large cantonment about two miles from the city, was

similarly prepared. Buglers were stationed at intervals all the way up to the camp to sound the alarm in a moment. In fact, the city was in a state of siege. On the other hand, the coloured people were also prepared. Beaumont himself was armed *cap-a-pie*, and determined to shoot whatever man should shoot Jordan. These expected sanguinary scenes were happily averted, through the firmness of one man, and that was Robert Osborn. No sooner had he given his evidence than he stepped from the witness stand; then apprehensive of his recall, he was seized by the people, conveyed upon their shoulders, and carried to a house in the upper part of the city, where he was locked up until the verdict was pronounced. That verdict was, "Not guilty." The scene which Kingston presented on that day is beyond description.

The greatest care was taken that the jury should be packed in such a manner that there should not be one drop of African blood to be found in it, but they reckoned without their host. There was one man on the jury who, though as fair to all appearance as the proudest scion of the Caucasian race, had just enough to remind him of the great rock whence he was digged. This fair descendant of black Hannibal was, too, one of the famous Committee of twenty-five. That man was James Taylor, the present senior Member for Port Royal, and Chairman of Committees. Through his determination Mr. Jordan was saved from hanging, for the other jurymen, in spite of evidence, were determined on a verdict of guilty. Another fact in the history of the memorable prosecution, or rather persecution, is the refusal of Mr. Burge, the then Attorney-General, to prosecute. A fit instrument was, however, found for the dirty work, in the person of Mr. Panton, then Advocate-General, and subsequently Vice-Chancellor of the island. He is now gone to his account—*requiescat in pace*. To the everlasting disgrace of the Earl of Belmore, then the Governor of Jamaica, he was heard to declare, before the trial had come on, that in the event of Mr. Jordan being condemned, he would sign the death-warrant for the execution.

The efforts of the anti-slavery party were crowned with success, and on the 1st of August, 1834, the slaves became apprentices, and on the 1st of August, 1838, they rose to the dignity of freemen. Here was the consummation of the object for which Mr. Jordan had struggled. He received his reward at the hands of a grateful people, having been elected in 1835 as Member of Assembly for the city and parish of Kingston, which he continues to represent. About this period *The Watchman* was converted into a daily paper, called *The Morning Journal*, still in existence, and still owned by Jordan and Osborn. In 1851, Mr. Jordan was called by Her Majesty's letters patent to the Council, or Upper House, with the title of "Honcurable." A year or two previous to this, his friends set him up as Mayor for the city, in opposition to the Hon. Hector Mitchell, whose term had expired; and it was only by the most open and barefaced bribery that he did not succeed in defeating the old veteran. In 1853, contrary to his wishes, his friends again proposed him as Mayor, on the death of Mr. Mitchell. He was opposed by

Philip Lawrence, Esq., a wealthy merchant, and was defeated only by one vote; and this majority must be accounted for from the fact of Mr. Lawrence having voted in his own favour, while Mr. Jordan was at his country residence, far from the poll, not to mention the more potent agency of gold. Sir Charles Grey, who was then Governor of the island, to mark his sense of the fitness of Mr. Jordan for that dignity, immediately on the election of Mr. Lawrence, bestowed on Mr. Jordan the office of Custos Rotulorum for Kingston. This office, and not the Mayoralty, is the Chief Magistracy of the city. The two offices, for the sake of convenience, are usually held by the same person. The fact of their being divided on this occasion was, of itself, significant. On the retirement of Mr. Lawrence, a few months after his election, Mr. Jordan was elected as Mayor without opposition. He refused to hold the office, preferring to pay the penalty of 100*l.*, which he would incur thereby; upon which a Committee of the Common Council waited on him, and urged his acceptance of the office. It was then only he complied. The office is triennial, and ever since then he has always been re-elected without opposition. In 1854, on the inauguration of the new form of government, Sir Henry Barkly requested Mr. Jordan to resign his seat in the Legislative Council, and appeal to the people of Kingston for re-election in the new House of Assembly about to be formed, with a view to employing his talents in setting the new machinery of government at work, which could be more effectually done by a Member of the Lower than the Upper House. Contrary to the advice of his friends, who supposed Mr. Jordan would derogate from his dignity in descending to the Lower House, Mr. Jordan complied. His sense of patriotism was superior to the blandishments of an empty honour. He still retained his rank as a Privy Councillor. He is now the Premier of the island and President of the Privy Council.

He is respected by every Member of both branches of the Legislature, and very frequently measures are carried which are not entirely agreeable to Members, through the respect they hold to the source from which they emanate. Whatever may be said of the new scheme of government under Mr. Jordan's administration, the revenue almost invariably exceeds the expenditure—a political phenomenon previously unknown. Within a few months past the Queen has signified her approval of Mr. Jordan's conduct, by elevating him to the dignity of Companion of the Bath. This is believed to be only a stepping-stone to the higher rank of K.C.B. In addition to the offices already enumerated, Mr. Jordan is chairman of several commissions, and he discharges his duties with the strictest fidelity. It may be observed that from only one of his numerous offices he derives any emolument, viz. 300*l.* per annum as a member of the Executive Committee or Cabinet. The other offices are honorary.

Mr. Jordan has long been married, but no child has ever blessed his union. He is a deeply pious man, of grave deportment, although he can enjoy heartily a good joke. He is very temperate in his habits and unobtrusive in his manners. He is in the sixty-second year of his age.

Such is the coloured man whom the gracious Queen of Britain has promoted to the dignity of knighthood.

FUGITIVE SLAVE EXTRADITION CASE.

A CURIOUS and very important extradition case, occupying the Courts of Law in Canada, arising out of a demand made by the United States' authorities, for the tradition of a fugitive, who, in escaping from Slavery, had killed his master. The claim was made under the Ashburton Treaty, and is said to be the first. The case came before the Court at the instance of the Attorney-General, in order to elicit a legal opinion as to the sufficiency of the charge of criminality under the Ashburton Treaty. The facts of the case are as follows:

On the 28th September 1859, William Anderson was seen upon the estate of a certain Seneca T. P. Diggs, in Howard County, Missouri, and being asked where he was going, said that he was the slave of one Macdonald, who resided about thirty miles off. He had been "raised" upon the plantation of John Perkins, a slaveholder, whose estate was near that of Seneca Diggs, and was going to Perkins in order to get him either to buy him back from Macdonald, or to exchange him for some other slave. To this course he was prompted by two motives; he did not like his master, and he had a wife, the slave of a man named Brown, whose plantation adjoined that of Perkins. Seneca Diggs, after hearing his story, asked if he (John Anderson) had got a pass from his master. He replied that he had not. Diggs said that this looked very suspicious, and he could not allow him to go on towards Perkins' plantation until he had ascertained from his master, Macdonald, whether the account he had given was correct. Diggs further bid him go into the house and get some dinner. The two proceeded onwards together for some distance, when Anderson broke and ran. Diggs immediately called out to his black boys and ordered them to catch him, telling them at the same time he would give them the State reward for 'runaway niggers.' Concerning this reward, it may be proper to say here, that one of the depositions read was that of a Missouri lawyer, who testified that by the law of that State any negro found more than twenty miles from his master's plantation without a pass, was liable to be apprehended and taken back; the person so apprehending him becoming thereby entitled to a reward of five dollars, and to a mileage of ten cents. When Diggs called to his 'black boys' to catch the runaway, they immediately started in pursuit and hunted him round in a circle for at least half, and perhaps for the space of one hour.

Diggs himself, accompanied by a son, aged about fifteen, being signalled by one of the slaves, ran across the circle, and met Anderson just as he came to a fence, his black pursuers being within twenty yards behind. Anderson, during the chase, exhibited a large dirk knife, and threatened to kill any one who laid hands on him; and when he came to the fence, also threatened Diggs. The planter, however, instead of returning, struck Anderson with a light stick which he had in his hand and broke it. Anderson stabbed the planter first in the breast, and then, as he turned to flee, in the back. Diggs was carried home, and died a day or two after. All the witnesses said, and Diggs himself—according to the evidence of a son aged twenty-five years—acknowledged when in full prospect of death, that they intended to capture Anderson, with a view to sending him back to Slavery. In opposing, on behalf of the Attorney-General, the discharge of the prisoner, the Counsel engaged argued to this effect—that the Court had nothing to do with Slavery at all in the matter. It had just to deal with this fact, that by the law of Missouri the fugitive opposed a legal attempt at arrest, and that resistance ending in the death of the man who would have arrested him, murder was committed. The Courts, they argued, could not go behind the law, and ask how it came to be enacted; they were bound by the treaty to accept the fact. Let the case be reversed. The Canadian law permits imprisonment for debt, in a modified form; the laws of many of the States do not permit it. Suppose a man confined in Canada for debt killed his custodian, and escaped to the United States; could the State of Michigan or New York reply to our demand for his extradition, "We have no law for imprisonment for debt, and think any man justified in murdering his gaoler that he may escape from the effects of such a law." If such an argument could not be used, how could it be argued that a law of arrest cannot be recognised because it is the result of certain other laws of which no cognizance can be taken.

The correspondent of the *Morning Star*, writing from the spot, makes the following remarks upon the law proceedings:

This pleading is very special, but admits of what appears to a layman a clear answer. The Ashburton Treaty is not an agreement between Canada and the State of Missouri, but between Great Britain and the United States of America. It must not be interpreted by provincial statutes or by Imperial statutes, but by the law of nations. Now the Counsel for the Crown, in endeavouring to shew that it was incumbent upon us to recognise the law of Missouri, quoted from Vattel, page 293, that in the construing of treaties, "every thing which tends to the common advantage or convenience, or that has a tendency to place the contracting parties

upon a footing of equality, must be considered." He thought by this to prove that we ought to recognise the law of arrest as an United States law; any thing short of which would not, he contended, be placing that country on a footing of equality, &c. But he overlooked this fact—that the law of arrest in Missouri is not the law of the Union, but the law of a State; or, from one point of view, the law of a municipality within the Union; so that it would be no more placing Great Britain upon a footing of equality with the Republic to ask that she should recognise a muicipal law, than it would be placing the Republic on a footing of equality with Great Britain to ask that we should recognise some enactment of the worshipful corporation of the City of London.

A glance at the treaty is only required to shew that, in submitting the matter to the Law Courts, the Attorney-General has acted most unwisely. It was his place to decide whether or not the case came within the meaning of the treaty. A large discretionary power is very rightly left with the executive; but now, should the decision of the Courts upon the literal interpretations be adverse to the prisoner, the refusal to deliver him to the Missouri authorities will look bad. At any rate such refusal ought to be made, for it is manifestly contrary to the whole spirit in which the treaty was conceived, that such a condition as that asked should be made. The British Government would certainly refuse to give the man up; and as certainly endorse any action of the like kind taken in America. It will be a sad disgrace should the wishes of the slaveholders be respected here, when in every Free State of the Union tar and feathers is almost their only portion.

SUGAR AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.

We find the following in a recent business circular, issued by Messrs. J. Travers and Son, the well-known wholesale grocers. The facts disclosed are not new, but their appearance under the circumstances we have referred to is sufficiently remarkable for record.

"The deficiency this year in the Brazilian and American sugar crops seems likely to operate as a further stimulus to the slave-trade with Cuba. According to some recent advices from Havana, published in the leading New York journals, the traffic in imported negroes is more active and successful than at any previous period within the last ten years. There is, it is said, scarcely a town of any size in Cuba in which there is not a Joint-Stock African Slave-Trade Company, many of the principal participants in which are persons well known in Havana, while there are also a number who figure in respectable circles, not only in Boston and other American cities, but also in Europe. Their operations, however, are so well conducted, that conviction would be most difficult. The estimate is, that since the commencement of 1860, the total of Africans landed on the island has been at least 30,000. But the enormities now going on are not limited to the importation of Africans. Indians are stolen from the Mexican province of Yucatan, and brought to the island in light coasting

craft; and the Coolie-trade from China presents features of a character more deplorable than the African trade, in proportion as the victims are more intelligent, and capable of appreciating their wrongs. During the first nine months of the present year 133 vessels have arrived with cargoes of what are termed 'Asiatic Free Colonists.' These 'colonists' are, it is asserted, nearly all poor creatures that have been kidnapped. The total number embarked in China has been 58,763, of whom 8981 have died on their passage. American officers of ships that have brought these Chinese to the island have admitted that the trade in many of its features is worse than that from Africa. Out of the 50,000 imported, only 52 were females. Happily the Chinese are less submissive than the Africans, and as their capacity for labour is likewise less, many of the planters are beginning to decline purchasing them. They stand by each other, and if one of their oppressors is turned upon and killed, it is difficult to detect the perpetrator, their invariable reply being, 'We all did it.' The consequence is, that as it would be too great a money loss to garrote the whole, such acts are often left unpunished. For this state of affairs in the year 1860 the Spanish Government must be held responsible. The United States Government have hitherto had much to answer for in the tacit encouragement they have given to the trade, by claiming immunity from search for any vessel hoisting their flag, while they abstain from taking any measures to fulfil the duty themselves. It now appears, however, that they have prohibited American vessels from carrying Coolies to Cuba, and have also established an efficient prize system, which may stimulate the officers of their navy to act vigorously in suppressing the trade from Africa. These officers are to receive half the proceeds of the slaves when sold, and a sum equal to 5*l.* per head for each African recaptured. Of course, while the price of negroes in Cuba is as high as at present, the traders will endeavour to outbid these terms; but it may be hoped they will rarely or never find an American officer who will yield to the temptation."

TREATMENT OF IMMIGRANTS IN CAYENNE.

THE following letter, dated Cayenne, November 19th, gives a sad description of the manner in which immigrants are treated in that colony:

"Certain proprietors act towards their immigrants of every description, whether Africans or Chinese, as if these men were slaves. They scarcely feed them, and they pay them no wages. When they have occasion to speak to their labourers they address them in the harshest language. They even strike them in the face. In fact, these proprietors treat their labourers in a manner in which the law forbids them to treat their animals. In the mean time justice closes its eyes to these atrocities. How much more advantageous to the interest of the planters if they treated the new-comers with justice and humanity! The slaves emancipated after the Revolution of 1848, are treated with equal severity by the authorities when they are un-

able to pay their taxes. The Governor decided some months since that the tax-collector may imprison the defaulter for debt; and, further, that the prisoner may be compelled to work ten hours a day for a salary of ten sous. By virtue of this decree a great number of persons were arrested, and still remain in confinement."

SLAVE-TRADE ITEM.

FIRST UNDERGROUND RAILROAD.—The following conversation is supposed to have taken place between a slave and his master:

"Hallo there, Sambo, where are you going this evening?"

"Why, why," says Sambo, scratching his head, "I'se jes going down to de depot."

"What depot?"

"To the U. G. depot, massa."

"Where did you learn any thing about U. G. R. R.'s and depots, you black rascal?"

"In de Bible, massa; de blessed Bible tell me all about it, massa."

Feeling anxious to know what new theory Sambo had found in the Bible, he goes on to interrogate him.

"The Bible don't tell any thing about R. R.'s, neither above nor below ground, you poor nigger."

"Yes, massa, de Bible tells us where de fust tract of the U. G. R. R. was laid."

"Where was it?"

"In de Red Sea, massa."

"Who laid it?"

"De Lord Almighty Heself."

"Well, Sambo," mellowing down a little, "who were the conductors of that road?"

"Moses and Aaron."

"Who were the fugitives that ran away?"

"De children of Israel, massa."

"Who were the slaveholders?"

"De Egyptin."

"Were they white or black?"

"Black, massa; dat time de slave de white man, de slaveholder de black man, ha! ha! ha! massa."

"Did they pursue the slaves?"

"Yes, massa."

"Did they take them back to slavery?"

"No, massa, dey couldn't catch em."

"Why not?"

"Because dey took de track up, ha! ha! good, massa, wasn't it?"

"Sambo, you may go to your quarters."

BRITISH ABOLITIONIST MOVEMENTS.

LADIES' NEGROS' FRIEND SOCIETY.

THE Quarterly Meeting of the *Ladies' Negros' Friend Society* for Birmingham, Leicester, Worcester, Coalbrookdale, &c., was held on the 27th of November. Mr. and Mrs. Henderson, from Jamaica, were present, two ladies from Philadelphia, and many Birmingham ladies. The first and most pressing business before the meeting related to the increase of the slave-trade, and statements thereon were

read from the circulars of Messrs. Travers and Sons, lately so extensively copied into the newspapers, which confirm the accounts from many other sources, that the number of slaves now introduced into Cuba is larger than at any former period. As Lord Grey said of France, when the immigration scheme rapidly assumed the features of a slave-trade, that she must be brought to the bar of the civilized world, so should Spain be made to feel the dark disgrace that shadows her national character for her persistence in this horrible traffic. The forbearance extended by our Government to Spain has been prolonged to the utmost. On Great Britain and the United States rests the responsibility of allowing this system to continue. The remembrance of the injuries inflicted by the British slave-trade should stimulate this nation to use every exertion for its suppression. The Rev. Alfred Bushnell, of the Gaboon Mission, thus writes under recent date from West Africa of its effects: "Its desolating influence is everywhere visible along this coast, and far back into the interior. It has rendered Africa a battle-field, a scene of carnage and bloodshed, of misery and human woe, which has no parallel in the history of the world. Its ravages had been checked, and the desolate blood-stained wastes were beginning to bloom under the influence of Christian Missions, and all were looking forward to Africa's redemption as near and glorious; but a reaction has taken place. Again her coasts are visited by piratical slavers, barracoons are established on her shores, and her heathen inhabitants are turned from peaceful pursuits to war upon, hunt, capture, and sell each other." Mr. Henderson spoke of the interest the subject obtained in Jamaica, and of a letter that has lately appeared from the correspondent of the *New-York Times*, who has been making investigations in the West-India colonies, and on computing the cost of slave and free-labour, adduces the clearest evidence in favour of the latter on the point of cheapness. If such be the fact, how gratuitous are the wrongs and sufferings which Slavery and the slave-trade are inflicting on millions of our fellow-creatures.

Mr. Henderson then gave a cheering account of the prosperity of those estates in Jamaica having resident proprietors who dealt fairly and consistently with the labouring population; and as evidences of the improvement of the people round him, he mentioned the neatness of their houses and the increasing taste for reading among them, and that the first requisites for a negro's library are a Bible, a prayer or hymn-book, and a copy of "Pilgrim's Progress." Johnson's Dictionary, too, commands a brisk sale. Interesting accounts were read from parties engaged in aiding fugitives on their perilous journey from the slave and border States to Canada; and contributions for this and other kindred objects were solicited for a bazaar, to be held shortly in Glasgow. The great event of the election of a President to the United States, opposed to the extension of Slavery, is a subject for congratulation and hope.